DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 212 583 SP 019 554

TITLE	Youth Advocacy Training Resource. Volume IV. A Review of Theory and Applications for the Education of Troubled Youth.
INSTITUTION	Evaluation Technologies, Inc., Arlington, Va.
SPONS AGENCY	Department of Education, Washington, D.C. Teacher Corps.
PUB DATE	[79]
CONTRACT	300-79-0529
NOTE	114p.; For related documents, see SP 019 551-553.
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Behavior Problems; *Change Strategies; Child Advocacy; *Delinquent Behavior; Educational Research; *Individual Characteristics; Inservice Teacher Education; *Institutional Characteristics; Interaction Process Analysis; Program Evaluation; School Role; Secondary Education; Staff Development; Teacher Role; *Youth; Youth Opportunities
IDENTIFIERS	*Teacher Corps; *Youth Advocacy Project

ABSTRACT

This volume serves as a source of information about the relationship of Teacher Corps Youth Advocacy Project activities to the field of secondary school reform for troubled youth. This document presents major theories about educating troubled youth, theoretically-based programs, and research and evaluation on their effectiveness. Theories are grouped under two broad perspectives: (1) the individual in interaction with social institutions; and (2) the individual's behavior. This dual focus is maintained throughout the volume as each perspective, its definition, application, and relevant research are identified. In examining the interaction between individuals and social institutions, four phenomena are considered which contribute to troubled behavior: negative labeling, norm diversity among subcultures, blocked opportunity, and lack of affiliation with conventional institutions. The theories about these phenomena are the basis for intervention efforts for those who try to alter characteristics of institutions where the phenomena are operating. Discussions are given of individual characteristics of youth to determine their relationship to troubled behavior. The origin of these characteristics may be attributed to physiology, personality, learning disabilities, cultural membership, peer influence, family relationships, or contact with substance abuse (alcohol or drugs). The intervention, prevention, or treatment is centered in the belief that remediation of these individual characteristics will have long-term effects on reducing troubled behavior. (JD)

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TEACHER CORPS

YOUTH ADVOCACY TRAINING RESOURCE

Volume IV
A Review of Theory and Applications for the Education of Troubled Youth

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Teacher Corps
Office of Education Research and Improvement
U.S. Department of Education
Washington, D.C. 20202

SP 019 554

The Youth Advocacy Training Resource

was prepared for

Teacher Corps
Office of Education Research and Improvement
U.S. Department of Education
Washington, D.C. 20202

by

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Prepared under U.S. Department of Education contract number 300-79-0529. Points of view or opinions expressed herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the Department of Education, and no official endorsement should be inferred.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Teacher Corps Youth Advocacy Projects in Program 78-79 are addressing the needs of those youth who have learning and personal problems affecting their success in school and their contact with the juvenile justice system. A collaboration between schools, community, law enforcement, juvenile justice, and an institution of higher education, the projects base their activities on the needs of these institutions in a particular community. Thus, although the project objectives address similar major areas of reform, each is unique because of the characteristics of the community it serves.

This Volume was conceived as a source of information about the relationship of Youth Advocacy project activities to the field of secondary school reform for troubled youth. The objective of the document is to collect and present major theories about educating troubled youth, theoretically-based programs, and research and evaluations on their effectiveness.

A. Methodology

The Review of Literature and Applications is based on a search and review of current literature: journal articles, Government monographs, descriptions of exemplary programs, and youth advocacy resource materials in the areas of juvenile justice, education, youth development, personnel development, and youth opportunities outside of school. An effort was made to organize this material to reduce the replication of theories and present programs which relate to those theories.

Two constraints were encountered in compiling this review: the breadth of the definition of troubled behavior with which we were working, and the discovery that education is considered both a strategy of response to troubled behavior and a cause of troubled behavior.

The research and theory reviewed focused on particular kinds of delinquent behavior, such as truancy, gang behavior, and school crime. The breadth of our definition made it necessary to also consider youth who may not have had contact with the justice system, but nevertheless were in crisis: academic, social, and/or familial crisis. Therefore, this Review of Literature and Applications concerns a general classification of troubled youth behavior, and attempts to include pertinent literature and research which can be applied to the analysis of this broad classification.

Educational programs have been used as strategies for prevention and treatment for troubled youth in both the categories of status and serious convicted offender, in settings as varied as public schools, community-based treatment centers, alternative schools and programs, and residential correctional institutions. As prevention, education has been used to alter environments to keep youth in law-abiding status by changing the school climate through changes in school policies and inservice courses to personnel. As treatment, education has been used to change individual characteristics which have been related to delinquent or troubled behavior, such as attitude toward authority, and academic performance. Education has also been identified as the cause of troubled behavior. In this view, the policies and procedures of educational programs and the relationship between educational systems and other social institutions, are held responsible for the segregation, alienation, and stigmatization of youth, making conventional opportunities and mechanisms for achieving socially acceptable goals unavailable and unobtainable.

Two broad perspectives were identified under which theories are grouped: the individual in interaction with social institutions; and the individual's behavior. This dual focus is maintained throughout this Volume as each perspective, its definition, application, and relevant research are identified.

In our analysis of the literature we asked these questions:

- How is the problem of educating troubled youth defined by the perspective?

- What are the factors of successful programs according to the perspective?

- What implications does the research on each perspective have for the education of troubled youth?

- What issues remain to be confronted?

B. The Two Theoretical Perspectives

Two perspectives on the contributing factors to troubled behavior emerge from a review of literature and programs focused on the education of troubled youth: the interaction between the individual and social institutions--the school, the juvenile justice system, and the employment community; and the individual's behavior--physiological, social, academic characteristics-- which affects interaction with family, peers, and school personnel.

1. The Interaction Between Individuals and Social Institutions: Definition. This perspective identifies four phenomena which contribute to troubled behavior: negative labeling, norm diversity among subcultures, blocked opportunity, and lack of affiliation with conventional institutions. The theories about these phenomena are the basis of intervention efforts, as proponents of this perspective try to alter characteristics of institutions where the phenomena are operating.

a. Program Efforts. Programs which are directed at a change in the quality of interaction between the individual and social institutions include:

- Opportunities for youth participation in other contexts besides school, such as community service, employment training, and youth-run services

- Opportunities for youth to participate in and learn skills of governance and policy-making of the school

- Development of teams of school and community personnel to address changes in school structure which inhibit opportunities for success of youth

- Collaboration of agencies which serve youth who are troubled

- Interventions with peer groups in school and in correctional facilities

- Establishment of separate programs which incorporate curricular and structural changes to enhance educational success of particular groups of troubled youth.

b. Research. These special and sometimes temporary systems for change have provided conflicting results about their effects on the long-term troubled behavior of their clients. Problems in shared definition of troubled behavior and inadequate research conceptualization, design, and activities hinder generalizations from being drawn to indicate future directions.

The results which are reported show that special programs, such as recreation activities, vocational education, training in governance, alternative educational environments, and diversion of youth from the justice system may temporarily change academic achievement and self-concept, improve relationships between youth and adults, increase perception of involvement in school governance, and result in improved perceptions of future roles and employment. Yet, these programs segregate youth from the mainstream, they rely on special staff and the development of a support system which may not be found in conventional learning contexts, and provide inadequate follow-through measures to maintain changes in troubled behavior.

c. Issues of Collaboration and Transition. The programs which are based on this theoretical perspective raise issues of effectiveness of segregated versus integrated troubled youth programs, the involvement of the community in education and transition of youth to and from correctional or community-based settings and schools, support for personnel working with transitional youth, and integration of positive characteristics of alternative educational programs into the structure of the school. A major implication which can be drawn from the literature and program descriptions is that education of youth is a process which is not exclusively controlled by the school. Therefore, efforts to integrate personnel and programs in which youth are served and educated should be a first priority.

2. Individual Characteristics and Troubled Behavior: Definition. Many educators and practitioners examine individual characteristics of youth in order to determine their relationship to troubled behavior. The origin of these characteristics may be attributed to physiology, personality, learning disabilities, cultural membership, peer influence, family relationships, or contact with substance abuse (alcohol or drugs). The response of intervention, prevention, or treatment is centered in the belief that remediation of these individual characteristics will have long-term effects on reducing troubled behavior.

a. Program Efforts. Programs to remediate individual behaviors may be focused on the individual, on the teacher or personnel working with the individual, on the school's response to troubled behavior, or on the community's involvement in the education of troubled youth. Since the programs are based on theories of human development and learning, they frequently involve the school or an educational program in an alternative or correctional setting. An educational program provides the agent for remediation, the technology and curriculum, and the access to parents to reinforce behavior change.

Certain features of programs based on this theoretical perspective reappear throughout the literature:

- Training of teachers and other personnel to identify origins of behavior and related characteristics and then to match these with particular strategies of behavior management and classroom management

- Development of individualized diagnostic and prescriptive learning and treatment plans for troubled youth

- Environmental changes to minimize distraction in learning settings

- Application of humanistic principles to teacher/student relationship

- Matching learner needs with relevant curriculum

- Teaching decision-making and contingency management to youth to monitor their own behavior

- Reducing out of school suspensions by establishing in-school alternatives which separate youth from school functions, and permit continuation of academic activities

- Training parents and community members in behavior management techniques and the origins of troubled behavior.

b. Research. The problem with attributing troubled behavior to a particular set of characteristics of an individual is that, frequently, it is behavior which is too broad as a phenomenon to be predicted from these characteristics. Then too, this perspective neglects to consider that set of interactions which youth experience in a learning setting, whether conventional or alternative. These interactions may have an effect on the continuation of troubled behavior once the youth has left the treatment environment. Therefore, successful remediation of troubled behavior is ill-conceived, if it is grounded exclusively in the characteristics of the treatment environment.

The conflicting results from evaluations and research on the relationship between individual characteristics and troubled behavior indicate that academic and social behaviors can be changed within a treatment setting. Evaluations have reported, for example, increased scores on tests of academic achievement and self-concept, and decreased involvement with law enforcement and the juvenile justice system. Individually, some programs look successful. When examined as a group, there is less evidence to indicate that behavior changes in treatment settings reduce the kind of troubled behavior which results in adjudication.

c. Issues of Collaboration and Follow-through. Some issues raised by the review of literature and programs within this perspective are similar to those from the first perspective. That is, examining and treating behavior in isolation may not be as effective as working for the collaboration of personnel and parents who are involved in the education of youth. This collaboration can be used to identify problems, match youth with appropriate services and educational settings, provide support for continuation of new behaviors and treatment as youth are in transition from setting to setting. Without effective follow-through procedures, there is little that can be said about long-term changes in the lives of individuals in such treatment programs.

C. Critical Reviews

This Volume stimulated two critical reviews by educators who have been concerned with the development and training of personnel who work with all kinds of youth in conventional and alternative educational settings. The reviews are included in the Analysis, Volume II. The purpose of soliciting and incorporating these reviews is to broaden the focus of the Review of Literature. While the review of literature has been extensive, the experience and knowledge of those practitioners in the field is valued to underline the issues which it raises. The reviewers have considered the theories, their applications, and the treatment of issues in the Review of Literature. They have analyzed the significance of these and indicated direction for educators and personnel working with troubled youth.

II. THE INDIVIDUAL IN INTERACTION WITH SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

A. Definition of Theoretical Perspective

This first theoretical perspective considers that the behavior of a youth is made meaningful when viewed in the context of the individual's interaction with institutions in society--the school, the juvenile justice system, the employment community--which influence the process of socialization of youth for adult roles in society. Some theorists address broad sociological issues in the interaction between individuals and their social environment: Merton, Cloward and Ohlin, Becker, Miller, Sutherland, Hirschi, and Matza. Other theorists and practitioners analyze directly the relationship between these sociological phenomena and the structure and function of school as an institution of socialization in American society: Ogbu, Rist, Liazos, Polk, and Duke.

At the foundation of this perspective are the following phenomena:

- The lack of legitimate opportunity or access provided by institutions for conformity and for achievement of desirable goals
- The process of negative labeling which affects the response of institutions to troubled behavior
- The existence of norm diversity among subcultural groups and institutional support for only one of those groups as a standard against which behavior of youth is measured
- The lack of conditions which would support youth affiliation or having a stake in conventional institutions
- The structure and function of the school as a social system, including:

-- reliance on coersion for conformity
-- lack of involvement of students in decision-making
-- impersonality and alienation from teachers and administrators
-- inconsistent application of rules and inefficient information services for dissemination of rules and rule-breaking consequences
-- use of grades to promote competition and for disciplinary purposes
-- ability grouping, tracking, including special preparation for college-bound students
-- economic, cultural, and social level of the community in which the school exists
-- involvement of the community in school administration and in pupil learning
-- classroom climate
-- relevance of curriculum to adolescent concerns.

1. Legitimate Opportunity. The theory of institutional control over avenues of legitimate opportunity or access to conformity and to achievement of desirable goals is presented in the work of Robert Merton (1938) (after Durkheim) and Cloward and Ohlin (1960). Merton suggests that a condition in society called "anomie," or normlessness, exists when society supports certain goals as desirable, but at the same time narrows the access for achievement of those goals. If the access is not available equally to all members of the society, some groups find they are unable to "play by the rules" and still obtain the goals which are desirable. Turning to illegitimate means to achieve culturally desirable goals is one response as is rejecting both the goals and the available means to achieve them.

In their analysis of lower class gang delinquency, Cloward and Ohlin (1960) applied this theoretical perspective. The researchers identified the gang as a phenomenon of establishing an illegitimate route or access to goals or success. Cloward and Ohlin also indicated that questions should be asked about those youth who do not join gangs or who are denied access to gangs as an illegitimate means for achieving goals. The significance of any response by the school as an institution for legitimate access is then heightened.

Sociologists and anthropologists who directly analyze the school as an institution of socialization and importance in the lives of adolescents for role development and employment orientation, include John Ogbu, Ken Polk, Alexander Liazos, and Ray Rist. These researchers are concerned with the function of control over legitimate opportunity structures provided in the experience of schooling.

In his book, Minority Education and Caste: The American System in Cross-Cultural Perspective (1978), Ogbu describes the relationship between education and the social structure:

> Socialization or child training is the preparation of the child for adult life as his or her society or segment of society conceives it. That is, socialization is the process by which individuals acquire the skills (cognitive, manual, etc.), motives, knowledge, and attitudes which enable them to perform typical social and economic roles available to adult members of their society and be fully integrated into the society. (p.16)

School advertises itself as a means of legitimate achievement of equal opportunity and equal access to jobs and social mobility through a process of socialization. Yet, Rist, Parsons, and others have written that the school has a role in preparing students for slots in social class and in the labor market, just as their parents were prepared. School is seen as an institution established for the maintenance of the stratification of society.

The conflict between ideal and social reality becomes evident when individuals interact with the institution of school. Theorists and practitioners committed to this perspective argue that learning problems, behavior problems, truancy, and vandalism are troubled behavior symptomatic of this awareness.

> School establishments perpetuate the myth of opportunity by a distortion of reality: schools cannot fail, only children fail. (Rist, 1973, p. 20.)

Ogbu, Liazos, and Polk suggest that while the structure of the school must be changed in order to achieve the ideal opportunity for all, school should be viewed as part of the larger social system where changes are also required. Ogbu maintains that as the economic system works now—in conjunction with the school as provider of credentials--people with the same credentials from high school are still unable to obtain the same jobs. The result for some is disillusionment, and the realization that the street culture is an alternative means of achieving success.

Competencies for credentials needed to obtain success in the alternative opportunity structure are different from those acquired through academic success in school. Parents and peers in an adolescent's community may be involved in supporting the development of these alternative competencies. Their theories of socialization--the skills and competencies appropriate for survival in the community--may be reinforcing for youth who turn away from the school and look for opportunities for education in other contexts. The street culture may offer options for success more lucrative than many jobs obtainable with a high school diploma. A culture which is formed as a reaction to the inadequacy of the school experience to prepare for the economic reality of a community may be more difficult to make unattractive and undesirable in acculturation efforts by the school (Ogbu, p.c.).

Referring to the successful efforts of the educational system in performing a gatekeeping function, Liazos (1978) claims that students of all socioeconomic groups are rebelling against the opportunities available to them in work which is not challenging or worthwhile. Liazos describes the function of school as preparation for certain traits considered desirable by employers and related to expected slots in society per class. He analyzes the jobs which are waiting for students as alienating and humiliating. The number of jobs is limited; some may offer no opportunity for advancement; some do not pay enough to survive. The author calls attention to the destructive effects of financing certain programs in school which lead to such jobs for political purposes. He maintains that youth are rejecting schools for the destinations which await them afterwards, and for the labeling which occurs when youth unsuccessfully adjust to the slots anticipated for them or defy those slots and the system which perpetuates them.

Ken Polk's work applies elements of opportunity theory as well as negative labeling, norm diversity, and affiliation to an analysis of delinquency, by examining adult role requirements and conformity in adult life. This conformity would provide a legitimate identity for members of the society having the significant components of (Pearl, as cited in Polk, 1972):

- A sense of competence not exclusively tied to the work role
- A sense of usefulness
- A sense of belongingness
- A sense of power or potency.

Polk identifies an imbalance in youth-adult relations. He describes adolescent students as being isolated in school, where their cultural and recreational activities are directed, and where their work activities and experience sometimes must be grounded, since labor laws control the age of youth's entrance to the work force. Thus, school becomes a major reference point for youth. If it is discredited in any way, youth have no other means to roles for legitimacy. School primarily develops student competence--not adult competence. Rejecting school permits competence to develop along unconventional lines.

Given that school is the major reference point for youth, Polk explains how identity can be developed through academic success and social activities, which he says "operate as a social constraint against disapproved behavior" (1972, p. 12). If poor students are restricted from access to both because of school regulations and peer definitions, they will be hindered from anything but minimal participation in social activities of the school. Polk reports that level of misconduct is strongly related to academic standing: those students with the poorest grades in noncollege tracks have the highest level of misconduct (1972, p. 14). He analyzes the components of failure in school as: tracking-separating students into college, non-college, and vocational groupings for curriculum; the use of IQ tests to determine student ability; ability grouping in innercity schools where all students are termed "low" ability, and the school is perceived as a problem school.

Polk further explains that there are two types of institutions which control access to identities: those controlling access to legitimate identities such as school, work and politics; and those controlling access to "illegitimate identities," police, courts, and welfare. He argues that through contact with the second type of institution, youth are labeled negatively. Programs which provide access to legitimate identity located in a legitimate institution are viewed as most promising by Polk, such as diversion of youth from the juvenile justice system to educational programs.

2. Negative Labeling. Labeling theory, as presented by Howard Becker (1963, cited in Johnson et al., 1979), maintains that it is the description or the application of a label to a behavior which constitutes its reality. Thus, a troubled youth is one by virtue of an arbitrary definition.

The process of negative labeling can begin in the classroom, in the justice system, or in the school's response to academic differences. Researchers such as Rist (1973), McDermott (1977), and Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) have studied the process of assigning students to ability groups based on expectations and perceptions of certain social attributes, such as appearance, class, and race. Johnson et al. (1979) review research which indicates that selection at every step in the judicial process--apprehension, booking, and referral to the court--is influenced by such factors as class, sex, race, and demeanor. Polk emphasizes that the structure of tracking systems within schools sets a process of negative labeling into motion, as students are segregated according to career choices and restricted from certain academic and social activities in their school.

Polk maintains that the process of negative labeling contributes to the stigmatization of youth. Negative labeling affects expectations and limits opportunities to acquire responsible roles, besides generating feelings of alienation. The limited access to conventional roles leaves youth increasingly vulnerable to the application of further negative labels and to deviant forms of behavior.

Interventions to stop the cycle of negative labeling have come at the level of the school, the classroom teacher, and the justice system. Researchers recommend that the teachers be knowledgeable about the effects of assigning students to ability groups based on information about their individual personal characteristics on their academic achievement. Within the structure of the secondary schools, researchers claim that the system of tracking should be eliminated, reducing the stigma and maintaining access to academic and social activities for all youth. Another point of action is the sharing of information between the judicial system and the school system. Youth labeled as having been "in contact" with the juvenile justice system become arbitrarily distinguished from others who are supposedly more successful and competent. The theory indicates some revised means of maintaining contact with all institutions serving troubled youth in a way which does not deprive the youth of opportunities for respect and participation in school.

3. Norm Diversity Among Subcultural Groups. Negative labeling and negative expectations of subcultures may limit access to legitimate activities, especially in a school where there is institutional support for the characteristics of one subculture, and its norms are supported as standards against which other groups are measured. Since school is regarded as the instrument of acculturation and socialization for society, norm diversity among cultures or learning styles has not generally been well-accepted. Anthropologists have studied subcultures and their participation in school

as compared with participation at home and in peer groups, and have found that teachers consider students less competent if they do not meet the standards of one culture supported by the school (Phillips, 1972; Shultz, 1977).

When the disparity of norms between groups is widened and emphasized by institutional practices, youth may be subject to contradictory influences. Association with a group determines which socially learned definitions of behavior will prevail, those favorable to infraction of the law as opposed to those favorable to upholding the law (Sutherland, 1970 in Johnson et al., 1979). Ogbu suggests that when a subculture is seen as more profitable in terms of economic survival than that which is possible through socialization to the cultural norms of the school, youth will choose the subcultural norms. Cloward and Ohlin (1960) indicate this process happens also in their discussion of the gang as representative of opportunity or access to desirable goals. Polk (1972) suggests that school contributes to the polarization of norms and subcultures through a process of tracking and ability grouping which forces some students out of academic and social activities of the school.

In order to diffuse the negative effects of norm diversity and subcultural group alliance, theorists advocate support for the policy of education that is multicultural. Strategies in this type of intervention involve training school personnel to work with all cultural groups and types of learners in a school. This requires skills in the recognition of different competencies needed for different groups of learners and making opportunities available to develop these competencies without segregating these students.

4. Affiliation. Polk has described school as the most important reference point in the lives of adolescents. According to bonding theory, having a stake or commitment to a conventional institution such as school may help an individual conform to the rules. Hirschi (1969, cited in Johnson et al., 1979, p. 89) describes four control processes in conventional institutions which help to maintain conformity:

- Commitment: the degree to which a person is willing to risk losing an investment or stake through unconventional behavior and its consequences

- Attachment: the degree to which a person is willing to violate expectations of others

- Involvement: the degree to which a person is engrossed, participating in conventional activities

- Belief: the degree to which a person has confidence in and follows the moral validity of social rules (Hirschi, 1969, pp. 16-26, cited in Johnson, p. 90).

Since these control processes operate through organizational representatives of convention such as the school and the family, their effectiveness depends on the strength of the ties to these institutions. Youth have typically fewer opportunities for institutional ties than adults in that--as we have seen in Polk's analysis--most of their activities take place in the school or at home. If there is a situation in school which weakens the ties or attachments, then the stake in conformity is weakened and students are vulnerable to troubled behavior.

Trouble in school is shared by school authorities with parents and with the justice system, depending on the seriousness of the trouble. Thus, affiliations of youth, as opposed to those of adults, are more difficult to maintain independently. Bonding and control theory suggest that broadening the range of locations for ties and attachments for youth would be one way to remove this factor from contributing to troubled behavior in the interaction between the individual and the social system. This broadening implies involvement in the employment sector and in community activities, as well as increased involvement in the governance of school. Having more to lose by engaging in behavior which is unconventional will help youth monitor their own behavior. Removing obstacles to forming close ties with institutions will help youth see that affiliation is valuable to them. Obstacles to affiliation are those phenomena which have been discussed above: negative labeling, discrimination by subculture, and restriction of opportunities. These phenomena are grounded in the structure and policies of the school.

5. School as a Social System. Further analysis of the characteristics of school as an organization which establishes obstacles to affiliation, is presented by Thomas, Kreps, and Cage (1977). The authors apply Etzioni's theory of organizations to the context of public shools. They point out that public schools eliminate involvement among students as they try to gain social control over students. The hypothesis that this will reduce the probability of attaining the goals of the school organization and will increase involvement in delinquency is tested by these authors in a study reported below.

Etzioni's theory (as cited in Thomas et al., 1977) explains that an actor behaves in accordance with a directive supported by another actor's power. The three types of power are:

- Coercive: the actual use of restrictions over freedom of movement, and the means of satisfying basic needs
- Remunerative: control over reward systems
- Normative: capacity to allocate and manipulate symbolic reinforcers.

Having power implies that there will be orientations of the person or organization adhering to this power in terms of intensity of involvement and degree of commitment. Three types of orientations are: alienative, calculative, and moral involvement.

Thomas et al. (1977) analyze the school's claim of reliance on normative power while actually exercising coercive power. This reliance on coersion will, they say, result in alienation, powerlessness, and negative affect toward teachers; unfavorable evaluations of goals of schools; and resistance to involvement in school functions. In their test of this hypothesis, 966 public school sophomores were sampled through the use of questionnaires. In an analysis of responses, Thomas et al. found that feelings of powerlessness were directly related to consequences implying reduced commitment, both seen to be predictors of involvement in juvenile delinquent behavior. A significant proportion of students questioned were found to express powerlessness to control those parts of their lives related to school experiences.

Findings from the Safe Schools-Violent Schools Study (National Institute of Education, 1978) seem to support hypotheses of compliance theory and assumptions of affiliation theory. The Safe School Study reports that some schools can produce a high sense of commitment from students. The following issues relate to development of commitment, attachment, and control in schools:

- Impersonality and alienation decrease when teachers and administration establish personal relationships with students, and risk of violence decreases

- Students need to feel that courses are relevant and they have some control over what happens to them at school

- Students rebel against grades and their use for disciplinary purposes; where grades and leadership positions are important and competitive, there is also increased vandalism and other acts against the school

- Where rules are known and enforced fairly and there is coordination between faculty and administration in their enforcement, there is less violence

- Schools provide a high sense of commitment among students when they are associated with importance of academic excellence

- The economic, cultural, and social level of the community provides a context for the incidence and character of vandalism and violence in schools

- Improvement of school climate with a rational structure of incentives, both positive and negative, will increase student commitment.

In his work, Daniel Duke addresses issues of commitment, rule enforcement, and classroom climate (1978). Duke points to the relevance of Etzioni's theory, especially as it pertains to goal displacement. He suggests that when client-centered goals are supplanted by organization-centered goals, control over students becomes paramount over learning. In school, rules are established for control, Duke explains. They are disobeyed most often when not communicated effectively, when teachers find it difficult to enforce them consistently, and when they do not clearly relate to popular perceptions of school functions.

Duke completed a study with Perry in 1978 of alternative schools-within-schools in California. The researchers looked at the school organization through structured interviews, observations, school records, and an organizing checklist. Ninety students were involved as well as forty-one teachers and twelve other adults. (This study is reported in Duke and Perry, 1978.) Duke found that rules in alternative schools are few and deal primarily with class attendance, courtesy, and performance criteria. Students and teachers in conventional high schools judged behavior problems of greater concern than in alternative schools. Observations in alternative schools supported this data. Factors given to account for this difference in concern were related to the structure of the alternative schools: size, personal attention, informality, relative homogeneity, student involvement in decision-making.

Three dimensions pertinent to behavior problems in conventional settings are highlighted as most important: responsive classroom climate, adolescent-relevant curriculum, and credibility of school as a rule-governed organization. Duke and Perry cite other research which indicates the components of responsiveness (Duncan and Biddle, 1974; Kounin, 1970; and especially McPartland and McDill, 1975) as: taking notice of changes in student behavior, distributing rewards, placing costs on misbehavior, and providing access for students in decision-making.

B. Applications of the Interaction Perspective in Educational Programs for Troubled Youth

1. General. Educational programs for troubled youth refer to three things: (1) the population they serve, that is, the seriousness of the trouble: status offense or serious offense; (2) the location of the youth: in school, in residential settings (community-based programs or institutions), in alternative learning environments; and (3) the focus of change: certain policies of the school, certain features of the social structure in the school or in the community.

Two views on secondary school reform for troubled youth affect decisions about intervention. One view holds that there are different kinds of offenses and offenders, thus the strategies for treatment and prevention of further acts of delinquency should be tailored to these different needs. The other view holds that it is more effective in the long run to focus efforts on systemic change affecting school, community, and employment so that all youth will be treated in the same way.

Both these views incorporate elements of schooling as part of the intervention. Thus the notion of alternative education or secondary school reform for troubled youth has different significance depending on the changes it describes. Pamela Fenrich (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration [LEAA], 1979) explains that some people consider alternative education to involve separated educational facilities and independence from the regular school system. Others consider educational programs for remedial reading, cultural education, or in-school suspension as secondary school reform.

Fenrich notes the type of programs which intervene by altering the social structure or school environment to inhibit the factors contributing to troubled behavior as: programs focused on the school environment or climate for success, directed at the elimination of factors contributing to truancy, disinterest, dropout, failure, violence, and vandalism; and programs for youth development and increased youth participation in school and in other sectors of their society.

Johnson et al. (1979) specify prevention initiatives focused on the organizational aspects of school which create obstacles to conventional behavior. Examples of these initiatives are changes in the curriculum so that students learn about work, participation in community affairs, and practical competencies; changes in the classification and sorting of students through prerequisite systems and tracking systems; expansion of opportunities for student, parent, and teacher participation in the governance and operation of the school; and changes in the administration of discipline so that the system of rules and consequences is fair, communicated effectively, coordinated by teachers and administrators, and is consistently applied.

The following sections present descriptions of programs with educational components. Some programs are directed at specific types of offenders (serious or status), while other programs are directed at prevention of delinquent behavior for all youth. The following strategies and approaches to prevention of troubled behavior are included:

- Youth Development strategy and Youth Participation strategy
- Youth Advocacy, Student Initiated Activities
- Youth Advocacy, altering system responses to troubled youth through the use of problem-solving teams
- Altering the social structure or social environment by intervening with the peer culture: training the community in aftercare

- Shared Decision-Making, The Just Community

- Vocational education (youth development and training programs) as a means of alleviating inequality in opportunity for employment

- Educational programs with curricular and structural changes.

2. Youth Development and Youth Participation. Youth Development strategy, as expressed by Ken Polk (1972), Bird et al. (1978), and supported by the HEW Youth Development Bureau and the U.S. Department of Justice Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), maintains that an effective prevention program will be one focused on all youth. Applied to the diversion of troubled youth outside the juvenile justice system, the theory behind this strategy is that any negative labeling experienced through contact with the justice system limits opportunities to acquire responsible roles and generates feelings of alienation among youth.

This strategy does not focus on prevention through punishment, hindrance of accessibility, or early detection and cure. It looks at activities to sustain youth in untroubled status first, then at ways to divert youth taken into custody from further experiences in court, as well as those released from the justice system to work, education, and community service. Sending youth who have already been labeled as troubled to other contexts for activities is expected to help reverse labeling and loss of access to legitimate opportunities. Some suggested activities are:

- Tutoring younger children

- Performing recreational activities in parks and other facilities

- Organizing a job-bank service for youth

- Placing youth in paying jobs to learn aspects of the organization of work

- Developing an organization to assist older persons in some sector of a city

- Studying the history and political operations of the city, county or state (Bird, et al., p. 66, 1978).

Diversion has been applied both to populations of youth who have been convicted of offenses and to those categorized as status offenders, youth in need of supervision, or children in need of supervision. One alternative to confinement involving community treatment for serious offenders is the Unified Delinquency Intervention Services (UDIS) program, established in 1974 in Illinois. While not a diversion program, since it comes into action in the post-adjudicatory stage, UDIS acts as a broker to keep youth out of institutions and reduce recidivism. It places youth in group homes or shelters, if necessary, and involves treatment, including counseling and vocational skills preparation (Mann, 1976).

Of equal concern is that group of youth classified as status of offenders. The 1974 Juvenile Justice and Delinqency Prevention Act (P.L. 93-415 amended in 1977) requires states to plan for deinstitutionalization of status offenders, dependent, or neglected children to obtain Federal funds. Some states divert these youth to detention centers, where there may be no bars or cells, but there are also no educational or development programs and the stigma of adjudication is reinforced. The pattern indicates that these youth are, in a matter of time, likely to be involved in some activities which bring them into contact with law enforcement officials; this time they are likely to be adjudicated. Thus, status offenders are caught up in the process of becoming delinquent youth. Diversion programs for troubled youth who are likely to be classified as status offenders--runaways, pregnant adolescent girls, youth who cannot live at home and may have emotional and/or learning problems in conventional schools, or youth who have drug or alcohol related problems--combine the principles of youth development, youth participation, youth employment and training. The member programs of The National Network for runaway youth are examples of these efforts.

The Network has conceptualized a different definition of prevention of delinquent behavior based on the principles of youth development and participation. This is described as a "Positive Process of (1) promoting environments conducive to personal power and choice, and (2) empowering people to USE crises, when they do occur, as opportunities for growth--not as afflictions to control or suppress" (Hutchins, 1979, p. 11). All of the programs emphasize client participation in program development and family and community involvement and support services. Services representative of this definition of prevention are: prevention counseling and training; recreation and cultural arts; youth participation and enablement programs; community out-reach, organizing, networking; and alternative living situations and aftercare.

One such prevention program, the Looking Glass, Inc. project in Eugene, Oregon, has established a Community Youth Worker Program. Youth become involved in assessing community and neighborhood needs and provide services to that neighborhood under a contract. Youth Workers involve pre-adjudicated youth on all levels of planning and action in order to help them develop ties with the community, investment in the community, and an enhanced self-esteem. Through youth participation, the program is reintegrating youth who might be unacceptable to the community, thus providing assistance to both troubled youth and the communities from which they come.

Youth participation as integral to the Youth Development strategy is supported by the National Commission on Resources for Youth which publishes newsletters describing such projects, based in school and in the community. In their monograph Youth into Adult (McCloskey, 1974), some projects are described which provide experiences for youth in identifying career options and becoming acquainted with the structures of the adult world. Also presented are case studies of a successful tutoring program in New York and a successful magazine focusing on cultural description and application to modern activities.

The projects described in Youth into Adult are designed, implemented, and evaluated by youth. Youth participation is recruited from all subcultures of the school. These are elements which the theoretical perspective we have presented claims will increase the effectiveness of a program for development leading to delinquency prevention.

The essential elements of a model youth program, based on analyses of existing programs by the authors of Youth into Adult and endorsed by the National Commission on Resources for Youth, are:

- Fills genuine needs for adolescents and society
- Provides a challenge
- Offers active learning
- Relates theory to practice
- Provides a community experience
- Demonstrates new types of youth-adult alliances
- Provides genuine knowledge of occupational options
- Is structured and flexible in format
- Promotes maturity through the exercise of adult responsibilities, participation in decision-making, governance, and leadership.

Youth Development and Participation is a strategy which can be supported by a school through its policies and activities for youth and through classes or training sessions to develop youth participation skills. One response from a system to the problem of troubled behavior is the participation of youth in the functioning of the school.

An example of a program in which youth function as resources for youth through a systematic training program is the Open Road Student Involvement Program in Los Angeles, Oakland, and Santa Barbara, California (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) Youth Advocacy Program Announcement, October 1979). To reduce vandalism through improved learning environments, the program attracts and trains natural leaders to organize their peers into a broad-based support group for identification of strategies attacking issues of vandalism and violence.

These groups of students are charged with developing recommendations, determining feasibility with school administrators, and determining student access to participation. The groups are supported in their involvement in similar activities in the areas of school procedure; such as curriculum development, library and textbook selection, guidance and counseling grievance procedures, and student participation on faculty and other school committees. Students are trained in problem-solving techniques, issue identification, listening strategies, survey and interview methods, school organization, and student rights and responsibilities.

Further examples of youth participation in school and community are described in the same document (OJJDP Program Announcement, October 1979) as:

- Youth as Curriculum Builders: the development of curricula for instructional use with other students for drug education (Philadelphia) and for environmental education

- Youth as Community Manpower: operation of an emergency ambulance service (Connecticut), staffing the Exploratory Science Museum (San Francisco)

- Youth as Entrepreneurs: opening a school restaurant run by home economics students and maintaining a natural science museum

- Youth as Problem-Solvers for the Community: developing a community carpooling operation (Denver), training students to notice and report housing violations in their neighborhoods (New York City)

- Youth as Communicators: decorating buildings with outdoor murals, writing about older members of the community and their culture

- Youth as Resources for Other Youth: peer counseling and operating a hotline and rap center.

3. Youth Advocacy Strategies: Student Initiated Activities (SIA). Youth Advocacy is defined as: a process whereby the administration of juvenile justice, social service and education can be improved through the active support and representation of youth interests and needs by advocacy groups. Advocacy approaches include, but are not limited to: (1) effective coalition building among public and private groups and organizations to impact the needs of youth; (2) meaningful youth participation in policy decisions affecting youth for the purpose of better defining youth needs and impacting on the policies, practices and utilization of funds in youth-serving institutions; and (3) effective legal advocacy in support of the above two approaches for the purpose of protecting the interests and rights of children and youth (OJJDP Program Announcement, p. 1, October 1979).

Through an interagency agreement with OJJDP, Teacher Corps Youth Advocacy Projects, during cycle XI (1976-1978), attempted to intervene and prevent the increase of school crime and improve school climate through a strategy of encouraging the development of skills among students for taking control of their own lives. The theories underlying this strategy come from the research of Elliot and Voss (1974), Glasser (1978), and Cloward and Ohlin (1960). This literature addresses changes in the characteristics of participation in school which contribute to delinquency, such as normlessness; advocates realistic perceptions of roles and groups; and supports students having a stake in the school. These Youth Advocacy Projects were established to reach that population of youth who have been identified as predelinquent, status offenders, or adjuducated, in schools, in alternative programs, in detention centers, and in correctional institutions.

Student Initiated Activities is an application of the theory that youth should become participants in decision-making concerning their lives at school and their work opportunities after graduation. This strategy is based on the assumption that the higher the level of involvement of youth in significant areas of their lives, the greater their ability to act on decisions and the greater the probability for impact on behavior such as reduction of disruption (Goodman, 1976). To meet this objective, each Teacher Corps Youth Advocacy Project chose its own direction. Some Youth Advocacy Projects trained students in skills of initiated activities; others incorporated the possibility for student initiated activities into their school policies and in cooperation with community agencies.

As an example of SIA, a secondary level minischool for troubled youth was established in Atlanta, Georgia. A targeted group of reentry students and consistently disruptive youth shared the responsibility for planning, implementing, and evaluating progams which met their needs. Students were participants in a training module called "Self Society-Solutions," as well as rehabilitation sessions and training as peer counselors. The program attempted to prepare students to develop skills in handling personal and academic problems as well as school and community problems concerning crime. Three groups of students--student leaders, disruptive students, and students with special education needs--operated independently in developing approaches and avenues for involvement relative to the concerns of each.

4. Youth Advocacy Strategies: Altering System Responses. Another Youth Advocacy strategy has involved altering system responses to troubled youth through the use of problem-solving teams. Besides the strategy of youth involvement in policy making and governance in school, Teacher Corps Youth Advocacy Projects have supported systemic change in secondary schools through the strategy of teams of problem-solvers which include faculty, students, parents, and counselors. The Arizona State University Youth Advocacy Project, for example, uses such teams in a junior high school, a senior high school, an alternative program, and an elementary school to build resources and expertise into the organization which exists at

each educational facility. The team attempts to build each facility's capacity to respond to troubled behavior and to develop innovative programs for students.

5. Altering the Social Environment by Intervening with the Peer Culture. Mann (1976), in his review of approaches to intervention with serious offenders, found few programs based on theories of sociology advocating the manipulation of the social structure or the social system, acknowledged as a force with negative or positive (therapeutic) impact on those incarcerated. The programs Mann and his reviewers did find were located in small, community-based, residential settings. The point of intervention in changing the social structure was the peer group. While the methods were varied and included the principles of Positive Peer Culture, Just Community, Shared Decisionmaking, Reality Therapy, and Guided Group Interaction, the focus of the treatment was the same. The importance of the peer group as a reference for adolescence was emphasized as was the inmate or client social system as a socializing factor. These approaches attempted to use this powerful influence to reach a larger number of clients as well as to be cost-effective. Examples of these approaches are described later in this section on applications.

Mann describes the application of Guided Group Interaction to a population of adjudicated males, ages 12-19, regarded as socially and emotionally maladjusted. The setting for the program was the Green Oak Center for serious juvenile offenders in Michigan. A maximum security program, the population included mostly black, urban youth who were found to have low self-esteem, unrealistic self-concept, consistent failure in school, and a lack of motivation.

In this approach, youth are divided into groups and use group dynamics to alter the peer culture, which emerges in the residential setting, to a prosocial system of values and norms. Each individual in each group is the center of a "meeting" in which all members of the group focus on examples of behavior in order to make suggestions for improvement. The approach is consistent with the theoretical perspective being discussed in its encouragement of client involvement in decision-making. At this Center, the approach of Guided Group Interaction is amended by its reliance on the staff for decisions about negative sanctions.

Although strategies like Guided Group Interaction focus on individual social and academic behavior, they are introduced here in the context of considering the effect on the community. Changing the structure of a correctional institution or support service for troubled youth by using a particular treatment modality indicates needed change in the structure of institutions which serve youth outside the facility. In order to support changes which prevent further troubled behavior, community members such as recreation workers, aftercare workers, juvenile intake workers, teachers, and social service agency personnel may need training in the principles of the treatment modality. The involvement of communities in change efforts such as this would require extensive assistance, from both local and Federal sources, and would necessitate a substantial commitment to change.

6. Just Community. The Cluster School in Cambridge, Massachusetts--based on Kohlberg's moral development theory-- was started upon requests from teachers, parents, and students for an alternative school which would permit participation in decision-making by all concerned with the functioning of the school. In an article describing the Cluster School, Wasserman (1976) cites Jackson's writings which claim that the hidden curriculum--the structure and governance of school--reduces the opportunity for students to have control over their lives, influencing their moral education and their socialization (Jackson, 1970). According to Kohlberg's paradigm, youth develop moral judgement through moral discussion with other youth, especially those whose level of moral development is slightly higher. Moral discussions are concerned with issues of fairness in human relationships and, although Kohlberg and others have designed specific topics for moral discussions in classrooms, the theory can be applied to any curriculum subject matter. Kohlberg and others have done primary research and applied this theory to curricula in institutions for juvenile and adult offenders (Wasserman, 1976). The Cluster School bases its structure on

this theory and supports the moral development of its students in classes incorporating skill development and different content areas.

Students representing all four grades in a secondary school were chosen to represent the variety of sex, ethnicity, and economic class present in the regular high school. Students and teachers volunteered for participation in the school. All decisions about school policies and moral issues such as violations of school rules and other social laws (stealing, discrimination, etc.) are made after consulting with the entire community. The principle of participatory democracy is scrupulously followed. A representative--different each month--goes to school district meetings dealing with policies and procedures for the whole system. Students are trained in rules of democratic meeting and monitor the functioning of community meetings.

The students in the Cluster School participate in classes integrating social studies and English with a program of moral discussions. Wasserman claims that what makes the system of participatory democracy work is that the decisions students make refer to issues of morality and fairness, not just administrative issues. The small size of the student community makes it possible for everyone to participate in meetings and in governance.

7. Vocational Education as a Means of Alleviating Inequality in Opportunity for Employment. According to our theoretical perspective, normlessness occurs as a condition in society when there is lack of congruence between societal goals (seen as desirable) and the means of obtaining those goals. When there are too many people to fill available jobs, employers impose school credentials as well as other criteria upon youth who seek employment. Youth who fail in school are those who are labeled as inadequate in school and thus have less or no access to the legitimate opportunity structure (William Gschwend in Mann, 1976).

Vocational education programs as delinquency prevention approaches may accomplish (or seek to accomplish) the following changes for this population, according to Gschwend:

- Provide the means to achieve goals and reinforce those desirable goals

- Alter the opportunity structure as perceived by youth, discouraging a delinquent one

- Give youth a meaningful sense of role allowing the transfer of conventional behavior from training to employment.

A good program in vocational education has the following components:

- Skills training

- Job interviewing

- Follow-up and support services

- Relationship between job and agency doing training

- Career exploration counseling (Gschwend, 1976).

According to the National Institute of Education Youth Learning Team's report on Youth Learning and Work (1980-1984 Research Area Plans), four program directions prepare youth for employability, many directed at that group of youth who are considered troubled: dropouts, runaways, status offenders (Carroll et al., 1980):

- Those which focus on the development of basic skills in an alternative educational setting for employability such as the Career Intern Program

- Those which provide work experience and work orientation with out-of-school activities for both in- and out-of-school youth, such as Job Corps, CETA, and Experience Based Career Education

- Those which prepare youth for a particular vocational area

- Those which provide job-search assistance.

Vocational education has been applied in programs for dropouts and some delinquents in conjunction with rehabilitation efforts. However, vocational education has limited meaning for juveniles who are in prison, away from employment opportunities, and whose stay provides limited time for training.

One example of a vocational education program for serious offenders who are admitted after court referral and by individual choice is BUILD in Harvey, Illinois. This program, started in 1972, is supported through private donations and some funds from the Illinois Division of Vocational Rehabilitation.

The mostly black clients participate in a needs assessment before individualized programs are established. Each client is assigned a vocational and remedial teacher, as well as a counselor/outreach worker, who encourages attendance and provides initial transportation.

The program starts late in the day in order to encourage attendance from clients whose life style involves staying out late at night. Clients proceed at their own rate in classes and are counseled and trained for vocations in which there are known manpower needs. A job readiness component addresses issues of interaction with employees, interviewing, and dress. While not involved in promoting the hiring of its clients, the program staff does engage in some job finding (Gschwend, 1976).

The Career Intern Program (CIP), located in four U.S. cities, is another effort to apply vocational planning and counseling to that group of students who are dropouts or potential dropouts. An alternative high school, the program was developed by Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, Inc. CIP prepares students--called interns--to complete high school and to improve basic reading and math skills. It also emphasizes career planning and development of occupational knowledge. CIP represents an effort to provide students with personal skills and characteristics to achieve desired goals (Fetterman, 1979).

The Goal Assistance Program (GAP) at Head Rest, Inc. in Modesto, California serves out-of-school youth who are dropouts or transitional youth in the labor market by addressing needs in the areas of education, financial stability, responsibility, decision-making, independence and support, and self-esteem. A six-month program, it takes youth who meet CETA guidelines, counsels them in the areas of job readiness and job search skills, and develops and maintains work experience sites. The GAP also offers a high school educational program for those who wish to re-enter high school or prepare for the GED. Credits based on work experience may be applied to the educational program. Driver education is also offered, as the ability to provide one's own transportation has been noted as a factor in enhancing employability. GAP is planning to expand its program to develop employment possibilities for handicapped clients, and to establish a youth advisory group to allow participation of youth in program design and evaluation (Valle, 1979, p. 43-51).

8. Educational Programs with Curricular and Structural Changes. Another approach to prevention and treatment of disruptive and delinquent behavior is to apply curricular and structural changes to educational programs within schools or alternative educational settings which have continuing relationships with public schools. One such community-based program for referrals of committed or probated youth is the Victory at Sea program in Florida. A curriculum of marine-oriented subjects, such as Red Cross first aid and life saving, skin and scuba diving, seamanship, and oceanography are integrated with those required for high school graduation. The course involves a fifty-fifty ratio of classroom-to-field activity (National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS), Programs in Alternative Education for Trouble-Prone Children, 1979, p. 71).

The Commando Academy (NCJRS, 1979, p. 50), Milwaukee, Wisconsin, was established in 1974 to serve local 13-17 year old parolees. Its goals are to prevent students from returning to jail, reinterest students in education, and help students appreciate working for pay. The Academy attempts to establish a curriculum relevant to the population it serves by using an open classroom concept and emphasizing a problem-solving approach to education. This works by indicating how each skill area (reading, writing, mathematics) can be applied to the practical problems encountered by ghetto youth. The social studies curriculum, for example, highlights differences in cultures and includes field trips to representative neighborhoods. Students have the opportunity to participate in a work-study program. Credits earned through their courses at the Academy can be transferred to the local high school, if the student is willing to re-enter the conventional school system.

Independence High School in Newark, New Jersey, is a comprehensive school for unemployed youths who have dropped out or have been expelled from public school. Offering basic courses, such as mathematics, English, and social studies, the school also has electives of street law, job interview skills, archaeology, and music. Students are able to go on weekly trips to museums, libraries, movies, and other alternative schools. The school year is divided into equal periods for outside work and in-school instruction. Up to 85 jobs are available and students are paid a stipend of $30 per week (NCJRS, 1979, p. 66).

Arnove and Strout (1978) have presented case studies of alternative schools with features addressing structural changes in schooling. Three such schools are East Campus in Los Angeles, California; Sweet Street Academy in Grand Rapids, Michigan; and Career Study Centers I and II in St. Paul, Minnesota.

East Campus, an Experimental School Project, is a continuation school which includes a curriculum of basic skills for survival in the world, an individualized approach to learning, elimination of failing grades, and an emphasis on credits earned rather than grades. Student records are not kept for disciplinary purposes; removal from school is not considered a disciplinary action. If students are unwilling to do their work, they are placed on a waiting list and permitted to re-enter when their desire to work changes. Students are encouraged to participate in program development and improvement and staff is expected to live up to their commitments.

Sweet Street Academy was developed as an alternative program for "unmanageable" students in grades 3-7. It attempts to encourage a close relationship between teacher and students, on the assumption that this is a point at which intervention in troublesome behavior can be successful. Changing the quality of the relationship involved hiring teachers who may have had no special training to work with disruptive students, but who were willing to set child-oriented goals. Teachers are not only involved with students within the classroom setting, but also outside the classroom, making visits to students' families and spending time with students outside of class.

Career Study Centers I and II, established for disaffiliated students, are located in a downtown area. The voluntary program differs from conventional schools in the areas of grading, curriculum, relationships to teachers, and treatment of student problems, such as truancy.

The educational program at the Centers is nongraded. Job placements are made and students are paid for their work. Components of the curriculum are "orientation to the urban world," field trips around town, job seeking, budgeting, nutrition, and Basic Skills of Daily Living. Students are responsible for recording their own attendance; the rules for behavior are simple and there is an effort not to place emphasis on discipline: (1) come to school; (2) exercise "reasonable" behavior; (3) learn something new every day (Arnove and Strout, 1978, p. 54).

Rules for behavior are somewhat relaxed; for example, students are permitted to smoke. Absentees and truants are "welcomed back" instead of punished. Students are recommended to the Centers by Pupil Problem Committees in home schools, thus the population of clients being served includes students from one-parent or foster homes, chronic absentees, youth characterized as rebellious, and those having had contact with the police.

C. Research on Strategies for Intervention with Troubled Youth

1. Youth Development and Youth Participation Strategy. In the previous section strategies called Youth Development and Youth Participation were introduced as efforts to counter both negative labeling and limited opportunities for youth identified as delinquent or disruptive. "A Design for Youth Development Policy" (Bird et al., 1978) explains that the changes made in the justice and school systems as a result of such a strategy would involve changes in law, regulation, and policies; shared expectations of personnel and citizens; efforts for elimination of labels, processes for integration into the society of the school; and provision of access to opportunities.

The strategy of Youth Development, when applied to diversion of preadjudicated youth from the justice system, has two principles in its operation (Bird et al., 1978): (1) it prescribes a change in the methods of handling offenders (alleged); and (2) it provides for the opening of conventional activities to diverted youth. Bird et al. (1978) presents research on the evaluation of diversion programs using these principles sponsored by the Office of Youth Development.

Studies by the Behavioral Research and Evaluation Corporation in 1974 and by Elliott and Blanchard in 1975 showed that the two principles were not put into practice. The projects studied "failed to produce significant organizational change in juvenile justice and failed to alter systematically the probabilities of maintenance in or referral out of the juvenile justice system" (Bird, et al., 1978, p. 77).

Some of the reasons presented for the failure related to the projects' dependence on the juvenile justice system for referrals. In apparent concern over loss of clients, the projects did not endorse changes in the structure of the justice system. Youth were subjected to increased intake by the justice system, including those who would ordinarily have been released. The probability of maintenance change was not introduced to the projects at the outset, thus it was not considered as a goal. The researchers found that in those projects which were designed for relabeling of preadjudicated youth, the treatment was traditional and focused on counseling.

Bird et al. (1978, p. 78) reports that in 1975 and 1976 the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention sponsored a large research and demonstration project to develop and teach effective means of diverting juveniles. The questions which concerned this effort included:

- Can diversion occur and where would this come within processing of youth by the justice system?
- What would be the effect of diversion on the juvenile justice system?
- Would diversion have a more favorable effect than traditional processing?
- Is providing services to diverted youth more beneficial than no services?

The OJJDP evaluations found that the word "diversion" had become a catch-word to indicate many different kinds of efforts dealing with preadjudicated offenders; however, there was a lack of rigorous definition and a lack of careful measurement of the impact of diversion on the justice system.

Bird indicates that certain assumptions about treatment and prevention of delinquency through the use of diversion should be changed, in order to make the strategy effective:

- Efforts should not be focused solely on those youth who are caught
- The trouble should not be assumed to reside exclusively in the individual

- Labeling of youth for an act and arrest should stop

- The behavior of one individual with respect to delinquent behavior cannot be predicted

- Problems in administration of projects with the strategy of diversion should be confronted

- Emphasis should be placed on redefinition of acts and prevention, reducing the expectations of diversion.

Lessons learned through the implementation of diversion projects are reported by Bird et al. in the form of principles for diversion:

- Youth are eligible for diversion before they are determined to be guilty by legal proceedings, thus the presumption should be made that they are not guilty

- Diversion should be an option applied to all youth in a given class which is determined in advance

- The effect of diversion should be felt in the shift in probability that certain eligible youth will be retained in the custody of the juvenile justice system

- Drop the case for good when a youth is determined eligible for diversion

- The next step in terms of activities for that youth should be voluntary

- Activities suggested as diversion alternatives should be "legitimate, clearly attractive, and not defined as being for the delinquent, troubled, or sick, such as educational, work, service, and recreational programs" (p. 89)

- Diversion requires "regular schools modified to limit negative labeling and to make educational attainment more accessible to each youth," not alternative schools; and "general employment programs which make productive work more accessible and better supported," not special employment programs (p. 90).

2. Strategies to Alter Sociological Phenomena. Reforms in the institutions of school, juvenile justice, and employment to eliminate factors contributing to troubled behavior were described as strategies in the previous section. These strategies were based on the theoretical perspective that eliminating sociological phenomena of negative labeling, subcultural differences, reduced opportunities, and powerlessness and alienation would act as a preventive strategy to troubled behavior.

In their review of theories and strategies for delinquency prevention, Johnson et al. (1979) analyzed such efforts citing research on the effectiveness of delinquency prevention projects. Some of their analysis has implications for the education of troubled youth.

Johnson et al. report that, even if theories find the causes of delinquency in the larger social setting, people have construed the theories to justify programs of prevention directed at individuals. These programs involve giving individuals the "equipment" to make up for social, academic, vocational, coping, or manipulative skills which they lack. Research results indicate the effectiveness of programs attempting to offset negative effects of labeling, and those which try to keep youth in conventional pursuits.

One strategy used to offset negative labeling is counseling clients in a residential or corrections′ setting to convince them of their self-worth. A two-year follow-up on paroled prisoners in California indicated that those who had participated in psychotherapy in prison were able to overcome the stigma of the courts′ label. Shawver and Sanders (in Johnson et al., 1979, p. 67) reported that "36 percent of inmates receiving psychotherapy in prison encountered no problem with the law, and an additional 22 percent encountered only a minor problem with the law."

Johnson et al. question the claim that negative effects of labeling can be mitigated through belief in self worth. They point out that this practice does not have any effect on the setting. The policies and procedures contributing to negative labeling will continue, as will the subsequent negative response to that label.

In general, Johnson et al. report that research findings on the effect of labeling by the juvenile justice system are inconsistent. Haney and Gold found that, of 35 apprehended offenders matched with 35 unapprehended offenders on sex, age, race, and number and kinds of offenses, "the apprehended number subsequently committed more offenses than did his unapprehended match. Getting caught encourages rather than deters further delinquency" (1973, p. 52).

When Foster, Dinitz and Reckless (1972) looked at the disruption of social interaction of delinquent boys after encounters with the police or courts, they found that only a small proportion of the boys felt seriously handicapped by judicial labels. Similarly, a study of diversion found that damaging labeling effects (operationalized as lower self-concepts) occurred when official processing was followed by treatment, but not when official processing was followed by nontreatment (Elliott, 1978, in Johnson et al., 1979, p. 83).

Some research seems to support the theoretical perspective that it is labeling in school which is most detrimental and closely related to delinquent behavior. Chastain (1977) found that negative self-perceptions appeared to be determined more by isolation in school, measured by low social or athletic participation or low grade point average, than by judicial processing among 303 Oregon youths who had records of delinquency. Continued favorable responses in school mitigated the negative impact of the judicial label on self-perceptions or perceived future economic opportunities (Johnson et al., 1979, p. 84). Brennan and Huizinga found, in survey data collected from youth in ten cities by the Behavioral Research and Evaluation Corporation, that negative labeling by teachers was more strongly associated with delinquent behavior than any other of ten factors checked, including negative labeling by parents (Brennan and Huizinga, 1975, p. 351, in Johnson et al., 1979, p. 84).

In reviewing research on programs which focus on conventional activities for youth, the evidence indicates the simple consumption of a youth's time is not related to reducing delinquent behavior. Hirschi and Rankin support this by finding that time spent in recreational pursuits like hobbies, sports, or work around the house is not associated with delinquent behavior (Hirschi, 1969, pp. 189-191; and Rankin, 1976, in Johnson et al., 1979, p. 70).

Dixon and Wright reviewed recreational programs for delinquents and found that although "such programs are often cited as positive examples of delinquency control, indicating the large number of youths enrolled, the number of events participated in and so forth...there is no evidence that these programs in any way alter delinquency" (Dixon and Wright, 1975, p. 37 in Johnson et al., 1979, p. 71).

Ahlstrom and Havighurst (1971) reviewed work programs in the 1960's and concluded that all of them were total or partial failures. One-fourth of those who received employment-related help were estimated to have benefitted from it. In addition, Romig reviewed 12 evaluations of work and vocational programs conducted between 1966 and 1974. He found three that showed any favorable effect on delinquency (Romig, 1978, pp. 43-56). These three had the distinguishing feature of providing "job opportunities where either advancement was possible or...supportive educational skills and diplomas that made advancement likely" (Romig, 1978, p. 51).

In light of evaluations of programs to improve basic skills, enhance employability, and provide work experience and skills training to youth in and out of school, the Department of Labor and the National Institute of Education are planning to support demonstrations and research on employability for youth in the 1980's. Findings show that while such programs may reduce the dropout rate, provide income maintenance, and keep youth out of trouble while enrolled, there is no evidence that participation in them will enhance long-term employability (Carroll et al., 1980). In new demonstration projects and in existing programs the mixing of in- and out-of-school approaches to developing employability skills and enhancing long-term employability will be studied, including groups of troubled youth with behavior problems and those with problems related to substance abuse (DOL, 1980).

The theory behind youth participation states that youth can be diverted from interaction supporting misconduct and can become involved in some action which would reduce a sense of futility and powerlessness. Johnson et al. suggest two problems with this approach. Youth participating in such activities would be likely to stay out of trouble in the first place. When participating, especially in governance roles, youth would gain a sense of the futility and overwhelming control by legitimate authorities. One example of a youth-initiated activity having no supporting evaluative data is the Children's Express in Washington, D.C. Johnson et al. give it credit for attempting to involve young persons in a worthwhile activity. This program encouraged children from ages 8-13 to report on community conditions affecting them. Coached by older teenagers, these youth published their own periodical and brought their findings to the attention of others through nationally televised hearings in Washington, D.C.

Lessons learned from this research and from the evaluations of programs indicate the kinds of programs to support, according to Johnson et al. The authors reject recreation and employment programs as prevention strategies which merely consume time. These are ineffective in reducing delinquency. They give provisional support for programs offering limited benefits at high cost, such as providing vocational skills and middle class characteristics to certain groups of youth, provided the recruitment is non-stigmatizing. The authors of the report recommend the following strategies:

- Modify organizational practices in schools, justice, and the employment community that reflect stereotypic presumptions of undesireable traits among youth having certain socioeconomic, racial, or ethnic backgrounds

- Work to improve the images of law enforcement and juvenile justice

- Develop programs to broaden the range of conventional ties available to youth, particularly in the areas of work and community service

- Institute "mainstreaming" of instruction in parenting and other life experiences in schools

- Design programs to reduce youth perceptions of powerlessness

- Implement steps to reduce the flow of derogatory news from school to home or from the juvenile justice system to school.

3. Student Initiated Activities in Teacher Corps Youth Advocacy Projects. Arthur Cole and Terrance Tatje (1979) analyzed the Student Initiated Activities component of Teacher Corps Youth Advocacy Projects. The concept underlying these components was one of improvement of school climate and reduction of school crime through youth participation in decisionmaking. Their report documents the strategies used and looks at those most effective. The researchers found that location of the project had the biggest influence on shaping project goals and outcomes, followed by the level of support from the local school administration. In large cities, school administrative personnel emphasized discipline. The SIA concept implied a relaxation of some controls of administration over student activities, which was inconsistent with the administration's perception of its role and authority. The choice of a student initiated activity preferred by upper level schools was that aimed at physical improvements to discourage vandalism. Administrators, teachers, and project personnel at these schools avoided those activities directed at improving social relations among students.

Feedback from students participating in these projects indicated that the social divisions in the student body contributed to problems of school disruption, violence, and for some students, school failure (p. 14). Students also indicated a concern that projects which were designed for certain types of students would have a stigmatizing effect. Students recruited for projects had a history of disruptive behavior, thus making it possible for a process of negative labeling to be established.

The analysis done by Tatje and Cole revealed a trend toward implementation of SIA-oriented curriculum in school credit classes, in regular subject matter classes, and in Youth Advocacy training classes (p. 15). Emphasis on genuinely student-initiated activities was greater at projects which did not implement these courses.

The authors made the following recommendations for implementing SIA models:

- Place early emphasis on SIA action teams with the long range goal of incorporating adults

- Allow students a role in the allocation of resources, project staff time and money for SIA projects

- Training students in classes with assignments about the SIA concept is defeating the purpose.

4. Features of Alternative Schools for Troubled Youth. In the previous section, programs were described whose curriculum and structural features departed from those of a conventional school. In their study of "Alternative Schools for Disruptive Youth" (1978), Arnove and Strout observed and described features of alternative schools. They then presented research findings indicating that these are positive features with respect to providing a learning environment for troubled youth. At the same time the researchers point out the lack of knowledge about those particular attributes of alternative learning environments which are most beneficial for this group of clients. They recommend research on the principle of person-environment fit.

a. Size of School. Arnove and Strout cite the size of the school as related to achieving "warm interpersonal relations" between students and staff. (Earlier in this Review of Theory and Applications, Duke is cited as identifying the small size of an alternative school as contributing to a similar condition.) The researchers report that in an analysis of data from the 1965 Coleman survey of equality of educational opportunity, McPartland and McDill examined school size in relationship to the reports from principals on the extent and seriousness of student offenses. The study by McPartland and McDill (1975) found that by virtue of the small number of students, misconduct is harder to keep anonymous in a small school. They also report that with fewer students there are more opportunities for students to be involved in the functioning of the school. This would make them less likely to behave in a way which would harm the environment or the people they find rewarding (Arnove and Strout, 1978, p. 4).

b. Role of Teacher. The role of the teacher is stressed by Arnove and Strout, especially on the dimension of personal involvement with students. Alternative programs reporting the importance of this relationship included the East Unit of the Alternative Schools Project in Philadelphia, alternative programs in Grand Rapids, Michigan, the Quincy, Illinois revised school program for potential delinquents, and the Woodward Day School for disruptive youth in Massachusetts. Another important dimension of the teachers' role is their view of behavior problems. In their study, Duke and Perry (1978) found that teachers in alternative schools regarded behavior problems as "opportunities to work on matters troubling students" (also cited in Arnove and Strout, 1978, p. 8). This perspective would presumably have an effect on the identification of students as disruptive, in the form of a reduction in negative labeling.

c. Factors in Academic Success. In order to have a positive effect on academic success, Arnove and Strout report that researchers such as Gold and Duke indicate individualization of instruction is a key feature of alternative programs. Another key feature is the match of learner with environment. A study of the relationship between characteristics of learners and conventional and alternative high school programs was done by Fizzell in Chicago. Comparing profiles of successful and unsuccessful students, Fizzell found certain variables related to success. He indicated that the characteristics related to success in one school were related to failure in another (1975, cited in Arnove and Strout, p. 11).

Support services for students with special problems is also highlighted by Arnove and Strout as contributing to conditions conducive to academic success. Adequate support services allow schools to determine the nature of learning problems and then provide opportunities to remedy them, so the student can succeed in school.

A sense of power is a factor contributing to support of the school and actual behavior in school. McPartland and McDill come to a similar conclusion in a study of crime in schools (Arnove and Strout, 1978, p. 13). They found relationships between the satisfaction of students, their attitudes, and their support of vandalism and protest. These were students who had some opportunity to participate in rule-making, as were students in a study by Epstein and McPartland of 16 middle and high schools. Some positive effect on satisfaction with school, commitment to classwork, and relationships with teachers was found for students who had the greatest access to decisions. An evaluation of East Campus, a continuation school in Berkeley, California discovered that students "gained in feelings of control over their environment" (Arnove and Strout, 1978, p. 13) at a school which encouraged students to talk about problems, including those of school policy.

Arnove and Strout point out that academic success and its relationship to real opportunities for future work roles is another feature conducive to developing a "positive image of the future" for troubled youth. They describe programs such as the Industrial Skills Center in Chicago, which has succeeded in reducing further contact with the law for a higher percentage of its clients. Another program which combines career opportunities and academic skills is the Stride Program in Illinois. In evaluations of this program, students reported an improved perception of the future.

A positive perception of the future would indicate that youth consider it possible to achieve desirable goals and would encourage them to seek legitimate means to achieve them.

The enhancement of self-concept is seen by Arnove and Strout as another positive feature in altering learning environments for disruptive youth. In a review of over fifty alternative school evaluations completed at Indiana University (Barr, 1976, in Arnove and Strout, p. 16), students experienced significant changes in the affective area:

- The self-concept of alternative school students appears to improve, especially among students who have not done well in conventional school

- Students tend to be happier in alternative schools and have better attitudes about school

- Students seem to have an increased sense of control over their own destinies, feel more secure, and have a stronger self-identity

- More positive attitudes tend to be demonstrated in higher attendance rates, lower suspension and disruption rates, and less vandalism and violence in schools.

d. Negative Aspects of Alternative Schools. Arnove and Strout also discuss the possibility that those features of alternative schools which can contribute to positive changes for troubled youth have certain negative aspects. Special programs created for a particular population of youth may lead to isolation of these students from conventional activities and to negative labeling of youth participating in them. The special focus of an alternative program, such as one designed for poor learners, could lead to a tracking system just as powerful as the one operating in the conventional school which first contributed to the context in which the youth was identified as troubled.

Since the staff of an alternative school is smaller and must shoulder more responsibilities, there may be tight staff control. This may lead to a reduction in student participation in decision-making and a curtailing of student choice of courses, activities, etc. In addition, the theories of learning may influence methods of control of students. For example, in some alternative programs, social control is accomplished through the use of peer group confrontations. Arnove and Strout suggest that there is no guarantee that clients can act independently of this support group and pressure once outside the environment. They also regard the use of this group method ot pressure as capable of becoming destructive to the client who is the object of the group meeting.

The problem for students in alternative programs is that often they cannot choose the program which is safest or best for their goals. They may be obligated to participate as a condition for staying with the system, as opposed to being expelled or being sent to court. In some cases, the alternatives are not changes from the conventional treatment of disruptive or delinquent youth, but relabelled programs (Arnove and Strout, 1978, p. 22).

5. Interventions for Serious Juvenile Offenders. Ronald Huff (Mann, 1976) describes the Green Oak Center (GOC) for serious offenders and the efficacy of using the Guided Group Interaction (GGI) strategy in residential settings. The evaluation of this program in comparing GOC residents with residents of other facilities indicated that rearrest was low, 35% in 1974-1975, which the researcher sees as commendable, considering the nature of the clientele. For the same time period, data show that 42% of GOC releases were involved in job and school combined on a full-time basis. The length of stay was reported to be decreasing along with behavior incidents of assault and vandalism. Scores on achievement tests demonstrated that average gains of almost a year level had been made.

Although all the data was not complete, Huff considered this when reporting the apparent effectiveness of GGI for this population of offenders. He also reported results of studies which indicate that GGI seems most effective with youth coming from broken homes "who have a fairly lengthy history of delinquent behavior," and especially with black youth offenders (Huff, p. 39, in Mann, 1976).

The research on interventions reported by Mann revealed that programs which were somewhat successful had the following commonalities:

- Client choice to participate and of treatment
- Clear tasks
- Conditions for successful learning, including:
    - Early and frequent success
    - Behavior models among staff
    - Belief in the possibility of achieving
    - Reward structures
    - Credible or integrated training
- Use of least drastic measures for discipline
- Heuristic management.

6. Issues in Efficacy Studies. Nelson and Kauffman (1977) address the issues in efficacy studies of educational interventions, beginning with the apparent sparsity of such research. The authors characterize this research as incomplete and contradictory due to a lack of controlled research and difficulty in long-term follow-up of high school students. A drawback to conceptualization of this research is the lack of agreement among educators about goals of special educational programs for delinquent adolescents. As researchers, Nelson and Kauffman regard agreement about

goals as necessary to obtaining agreement about which independent measures should be used in evaluating program efficacy. Without this agreement they conclude that program effectiveness may be judged on "the basis of subjective criteria or short-term informal measures" (p. 34).

7. Future Research. Some upcoming research on strategies for intervention based on the theoretical perspective of individuals in interaction with social institutions are:

- Delinquency Prevention Technical Assistance Working Papers, Johnson et al. For the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention by Center for Action Research

- The Contribution of Alternative School Programs to the Safety of American Schools, Gold and Mann, sponsored by the National Institute of Education (NIE), 1980-1981

- The Social Organization of Criminal Justice Processing, Ilene Bernstein, sponsored by the National Institute of Mental Health Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency. Through interviews with justice personnel in 10 Federal circuit courts and direct observations of court procedures directly or indirectly related to court outcome decisions, this study looks at how the organization and contextual factors affect decision-making for offenders

- Longitudinal Assessment of Group Home Outcomes, Richard Jones. Evaluation of the teaching-family group home model. For the National Institute of Mental Health Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency.

D. Summary

Proponents of this theoretical perspective consider the problem of educating troubled youth as a problem of systems change; that is, the properties of the systems (i.e., educational, judicial, and economic) which create inequities for youth must be eliminated or ameliorated in order to prevent disruptive and delinquent behavior.

Four major phenomena operating in these systems which contribute to troubled behavior are: 1) labeling of an offense by the justice system or labeling of a poor learner by the school such that the label has a negative effect on institutional response to the youth; 2) support of an institution for one set of norms such that norm diversity of cultural groups is discouraged and denigrated and youth form attachments to subcultures as a response to rejection by the majority culture; 3) blocked access of youth from legitimate means of attaining desirable goals; 4) lack of accessibility of youth to decision-making within institutions such that they have no stake or attachment to its goals and values.

1. Social Institutions.

a. School. When school is identified as the institution requiring change, the following features of school are noted by researchers and educators:

- Size of classes
- Governance of school
- Access of students to decision-making mechanism
- Impersonality as a characteristic of teacher-student relationships
- Use of grades to promote competition and for disciplinary purposes
- Systems of tracking, ability grouping
- Adolescent-relevant curriculm
- Relationship of curriculum to vocational preparation

- Fair application of rules; a system of rewards and consequences.

b. Juvenile Justice. Changes in the juvenile justice system which are identified as necessary by this perspective include:

- Interaction between personnel in both court and school

- Re-entry linkages to and from court, correctional facility, and school

- Upgrading of accreditation of educational programs in correctional facilities and transferability of skills learned in one context to another

- Removal from court jurisdiction of status offenses and deinstitutionalization of status offenders

- Diversion of youth from the justice system

- Community-based programs for all delinquent youth

c. Economic Community. Intervention strategies directed at the economic system and the inequities which an individual finds when in interaction with that system include:

- Youth delivery of services to community, school, and other youth

- Coordination between employers and schools which train youth in career choices, vocational development, and life skills.

2. Features of Prevention/Intervention/Treatment Programs. These features are linked to the success of programs which are developed for prevention/intervention/treatment of troubled behavior:

- The program fills a genuine need for adolescents and society

- It provides a challenge through active learning
- It relates theory to practice
- It provides opportunities to learn about occupational options and requirements of fulfilling those options
- It provides opportunities for skill development related to real life needs
- It enlists the active involvement of students in its development, evaluation, governance, and institutionalization
- It supports cultural diversity
- It encourages new alliances between youth and adults in the program
- Its goals are clear and tangible
- Rules are consistently enforced
- It promotes maturity and successful transition from adolescence to adulthood.

3. Research on Programs. Research results on the effectiveness of different programs at the levels of school, community, and juvenile justice are not conclusive as to support of one particular program model for troubled youth. For example, research on diversion projects which attempt to change the process of dealing with the different types of offenses in the justice system found an unanticipated effect was an increase in the number of youth coming into contact with the law (Bird et al., 1978). Research on negative labeling by the courts and the schools revealed that youth may be less stigmatized by contact with the justice system than by labeling processes in classrooms and in the structure of the school (Johnson et al., 1979).

Special programs for recreation, vocational education, and training in governance exist, but do not provide conclusive evidence that delinquent behavior is altered by participation in them (Johnson et al., 1979; Cole and Tatje, 1979). Alternative educational environments and programs report academic achievement of students, enhancement of self-image, improved relationships between students and teachers, increased sense of involvement in school governance, and improved perceptions of future roles and employment. At the same time, special alternative programs segregate students by ability, and sometimes by race, which could lead to negative labeling effects (Arnove and Strout, 1978). Special programs also provide a certain support group. When students must return to conventional learning settings, they are sometimes unable to cope with the pressure without this support group; thus, integration into conventional settings fails. Finally, research on special programs for serious offenders demonstrates that there are too few programs which will accept this population, and those who are in residential settings may not have access to trained personnel, cooperation with the community and business, support of law enforcement agencies for completion criteria, or support within the family for new skills and behaviors learned in the process (Mann, 1976).

The research results present these implications for developing programs directed at the education of troubled youth: 1) make-work programs do not contribute to the development of skills or to the enhancement of opportunities for troubled youth in the economic system (Johnson et al., 1979); 2) expectations of diversion efforts may have to be altered to fit particular classes of offenses of troubled youth; following this is the implication that the justice system has to treat offenses in conjunction with principles of diversion (Bird et al., 1978); 3) features of schools should be changed so that the features of successful programs are found in regular schools, rather than establishing special programs for incorporation of each feature (Bird et al., 1978); 4) schools should demonstrate respect for multicultural differences. This is especially important in the classroom where the teacher's expectations of behavior may be culturally related and different behavior is often classified as problem behavior, leading to labeling, negative responses to students by the school, and feelings of failure on the part of the student within the system.

4. Emerging Issues. The following issues in the education of troubled youth are raised by this perspective:

- Determination of legal status for different delinquent acts
- Strategies for the involvement of the community in the schooling of troubled youth
- Improved systems of communication to and from the justice system, school, and work settings
- Transfer of credits and experience to and from educational programs in correctional settings and conventional ones (or from alternative settings to conventional ones)
- Transfer of treatment modality from correctional settings to conventional settings
- Support groups in the community for youth making transitions from one educational program to another
- Determination of effectiveness of segregated or integrated programs for troubled youth
- Results of voluntary placement of troubled youth in educational programs
- Determination of the process and qualities of successful alternative educational programs and the application of these principles to conventional ones
- Linking of school, community, and human service agencies in the treatment of troubled behavior
- Linking of school and employment training programs

- Support for the training and status of teachers and special skill practitioners who work with troubled youth

- Support for education that is multicultural

- Participation of youth, faculty, community and parents in the governance of the school and in the establishment of the structure of school: curriculum, credentials for graduation, sanctions for inappropriate behavior, allocation of resources.

III. THE INDIVIDUAL'S BEHAVIOR

A. Definition

This theoretical perspective examines the individual characteristics of troubled youth (biological, personality-related, learning style), tests the relationship between these characteristics and delinquent behavior, then indicates intervention efforts congruent with the theoretical relationship. Intervention efforts developed from this perspective are presented as educational programs or as strategies within educational programs. This is viewed as an appropriate avenue of treatment due to the accessibility of youth who are assigned to special programs by the court or by their school and/or those who may be captive learners in institutions and to the availability of techniques, materials, personnel, and parents.

1. Biological and Physiological Characteristics. Biological and physiological problems have been treated as the causes of delinquency and academic failure which leads to delinquent behavior according to Gagne (1977). As early as 1914, Bronner (Duke and Duke, 1978) conducted studies on which she based predictions of delinquency in girls. These studies looked at physiological differences in delinquent and normal girls. Bronner maintained, for example, that delinquent girls possessed less physical endurance on the basis of comparative studies of girls' abilities to hold both heels one-quarter inch off the floor.

Gagne reviewed research on physiological problems of delinquents and reported that work has focused on these characteristics:

- Level of intrinsic physiological arousal
- Reticular formation related to cortical inhibition
- Minimal brain damage

- Delayed maturation

- Speech and hearing disorders.

As Gagne points out, researchers have more frequently connected these physiological problems to failure in school or in relationships with parents and peers. Johnson et al. (1979) quote Delinquency: A Comparative Analysis of Delinquency Prevention Theory (NIJJDP,1977) as highlighting this connection between biological factors and social processes which can be mediators of these factors. These social processes are then made the focus of intervention efforts. Theory about biological or physiological determinants of troubled behavior does not seem to be well established or supported by practitioners or researchers, as is apparent in the report by Gibbons (1970, p. 33, in Johnson et al., 1979), who says that after reviewing such studies he could find no "valid generalizations about biological factors in deviance."

2. Personality Characteristics. According to Johnson et al. (1979) researchers and practitioners have a long history of viewing the maladjusted personality as the cause of delinquent behavior. A focus on particular characteristics in individuals which can be changed permits the planning of specific intervention efforts and the prediction of successful remediation of delinquency when the identified characteristic appears to be eliminated.

a. Behavioral Disorders. Herbert Quay (1978) categorizes observed relationships among behavior problems of delinquent and disruptive youth as four distinctive patterns:

- Conduct Disorder: behaviors at variance with social expectation--disobedience, fighting, defiance of authority

- Personality Disorder: subjective distress, having less of an impact on a child's environment--social withdrawal, timidity, lack of self-confidence, anxiety

- Inadequacy-Immaturity: short attention span, clumsiness, daydreaming, easily flustered and confused

- Socialized or Subcultural Delinquency: gang activities, truant behavior reinforced by peers which is an irritation for the school; behaviors acquired as a response to gang membership.

Quay describes the interrelated characteristics and antecedents for each mode of disorder:

- Conduct Disorder: concrete problem-solving; less role taking; seeking novelty; higher level of sensory input; lack of adequate parenting; lack of socializing experiences; placement in family; lack of participation in family decision-making: must become responsive to social reinforcers

- Personality Disorder: high anxiety; overresponsive to criticism; overcontrolling parents; diminished response to others

- Inadequacy-Immaturity: low visibility, difficult to measure features

- Subcultural Delinquency: not related to cognitive or perceptual pathology; disorganization in family and parental neglect.

Interventions based on Quay's theory come in the classroom, after identifying the constellation of behaviors exhibited by a troubled student. Quay's model includes these steps:

- Precise assessment of behavior to be changed

- Structuring classroom or other setting to minimize distraction

- Contingent use of rewards by teacher, parents and others

- Precise measurement of effects on a continuous basis.

b. Moral Deviance. Schlossman and Wallach (1978) document sexual discrimination against female juvenile delinquents in the early 20th century. In reviewing court records, the authors found that girls rather than boys were almost exclusively prosecuted for immoral conduct. Schlossman and Wallach relate this discrimination to the movement for social purity, a reaction against the ethnic assimilation in the United States at the time, as well as to theories of adolescence. At a time when sociological and educational theories were openly discussed, psychosexual theories of adolescence presented the view that girls were less malleable than boys. Thus, adolescence for girls was thought to be a time of testing character; whereas for boys, adolescence was thought to be a time for shaping character.

Schlossman and Wallach report that girls were recommended for prosecution by neighbors and parents and sent to institutions (1) to keep them out of trouble and prevent them from corrupting any "pure" boys or girls, and (2) to improve their character.

This kind of "impressionistic assessment" (Johnson et al., 1979) made by teachers, parents, and other contacts frequently led to identification of delinquents and predelinquents. As an extreme case, in 1943, the U.S. Children's Bureau project in St. Paul, Minnesota developed a list of characteristics for systematic referral. These lists were distributed to parents, schools, churches, neighborhood organizations, police, and social agencies. A partial list follows (Johnson et al., 1979, from Hakeem, 1966, p. 35):

- Bashfulness
- Boastfulness
- Cheating
- Dependence
- Eating Disturbances
- Effeminate behavior (in boys)
- Failure to perform assigned tasks
- Impudence

- Masturbation
- Over-masculine behavior (in girls)
- Speech disturbances
- Thumbsucking
- Truancy from home
- Unsportsmanship.

c. Self-Concept. Gold (1978) hypothesizes that an internal state--self-concept--is shaped by conditions in school. Based on the theory that an individual adopts psychological defenses to protect one's self-esteem from threats, Gold views delinquent behavior as a psychological defense against threats to self-esteem provoked by school experiences. This theory is based on research linking achievement, self-esteem, and delinquency.

Two features of the theory are (1) provocations--experiences motivating delinquent behavior--and (2) controls--goals and values constraining delinquent behavior. Among provocations, Gold identifies as most powerful the system of achievement as the motivation of student experiences and hypothesizes this process. In school, the standards are clear, but the means to attain them are so narrow that some students will be unable to meet them. A socially or academically incompetent student may choose situations which enhance self-esteem, like delinquent behavior. Delinquent or troubled behavior gains for the individual an audience of peers and adults. Although the peers may not emulate the behavior, they may also do nothing to change the impact of the troubled behavior on the class or the school, especially if they also feel negatively about the school. Some who have similar problems may support the youth and participate in the actions. Delinquent behavior may occur in school as a statement of revolt against the offending environment. If strong controls exist, such as material or symbolic resources which might be withheld, delinquency may not be chosen as a response to lowered self-esteem. Instead, Gold hypothesizes, youth may choose some form of mental illness as a response, such as extreme anxiety.

Gold suggests that school can be altered in the following ways, tailoring the learning process to the adolescent and alleviating the threats from the condition of being unable to achieve:

- Educational materials and tasks should be appropriate to level of skills

- Content should appeal to students' interests

- Level of effort should be mastery at own pace

- Evaluation should be based on individual progress

- Social norms governing teacher-student role relationships should be replaced by "informal, more interpersonal relations" (Gold, 1978, p. 303).

d. Intrinsic Motivation. While Gold theorizes that features of school, in the form of goals and values, can act as constraints on delinquency, Csikszentmihalyi and Larson (1978) propose that delinquent behavior--such as school crime--is related to a lack of motivation to accept constraints. The authors theorize that a state of enjoyment is reached when a challenge matches the person's skill level. This perception is, in turn, dependent on:

- The existence of a constrained set of possible actions

- Clearly defined goals

- Opportunities for unambiguous feedback.

Csikszentmihalyi and Larson look to the school and its features of organization and governance as contributing to a lack of intrinsic motivation in students. Learning in school, say the authors, is motivated by the economy of sanctions and rewards. This extrinsic motivation is destructive to the development of intrinsic motivation. Furthermore, school activities--especially academic ones--are not viewed as challenging or as matching students' skills.

A phenomenon central to this theory is that of the Flow State. This is a condition "in which one concentrates on the task at hand to the exclusion of other internal or external stimuli" (p. 327). The task is perceived as rewarding because goals are clear, means and goals are coordinated, and feedback is unambiguous. The authors point out that experiences which create the Flow State can be socially neutral. Therefore, delinquent activities, when successful, can create a Flow State for a youth.

The authors propose that efforts be made to "strengthen the means-end connection between adherence to school constraints and achievement of desired future goals" (p. 333). They criticize theories of delinquency prevention which support strengthening the authority of adults and making physical changes in the school for security measures. These are efforts which emphasize rather than reduce the school's extrinsic control over student experiences. They propose that personnel in school emphasize the enjoyment of the process of learning which can be generalized to all subjects; thus they recommend a change in the goals of instruction.

3. Learning Problems.

a. Learning Disabilities. When students do not meet performance standards otherwise expected of them, they may be suspected of having a learning disability. In a report on the link between learning disabilities and juvenile delinquency developed by the American Institutes for Research (AIR), this definition of learning disabilities is given as the most widely disseminated one by the National Advisory Committee on Handicapped Children:

> Children with special learning disabilities exhibit a disorder in one or more of the basic psychological processes involved in understanding or using spoken or written lan-

> guages. These may be manifested in disorders of listening, thinking, talking, reading, writing, spelling, or arithmetic. They include conditions which have been referred to as perceptual handicaps, brain injury, minimal brain dysfunction, dyslexia, developmental aphasia, etc. They do not include learning problems which are due primarily to visual, hearing, or motor handicaps, to mental retardation, emotional disturbance, or to environmental disadvantage. (Hobbs, in Murray, 1976, p. 12)

Two routes by which learning disability is thought to produce delinquency emerged in this review of the literature, research on learning disabilities in delinquent youth, and in conversations with practitioners:

- The School Failure Rationale: A student's learning disability leads to academic failure. The teacher and other adults view this as a disciplinary problem, and other students perceive the youth as unappealing, even socially awkward. The youth is labeled as a behavior problem and grouped with other students labeled similarly. The result of this grouping is a negative self-image and associations with peers who are hostile to school and vulnerable to delinquent behavior. There is an increased need for compensation of a negative self-image which leads to school dropout, suspension for absenteeism, and the development of psychological incentives to commit delinquent acts. With more free time and economic incentives to commit crimes, the youth engages in delinquent behavior.

- The Susceptibility Rationale: A student's learning disability leads to certain types of impulsiveness which might be affected by poor reception of social clues and poor ability to learn from experience. Due to the poor receptivity to socialization experiences, the usual social sanctions and rewards do not effectively control conventional behavior and the youth is increasingly susceptible to delinquent behavior.

While not relating learning disabilities to delinquent behavior, Cook (1979) views the process of becoming mature for the learning disabled youth as a developmental one. She analyzes the adjustments adolescents must make, such as separation from the family, developing a unified personality, perceiving oneself correctly, developing satisfying relationships with one's peers and an accurate perception of the world, as part of the process of developing competence. The learning problems of learning disabled adolescents--whatever their origin--make these adjustments occasions of failure. Since the contexts for these adjustments are frequently integrated with learning contexts in school, these are students who become isolated and alienated because of their failure. Cook predicts that these experiences of academic and social failure will affect the development of these adolescents.

Other learning problems can cause school failure and have been hypothesized to be associated with delinquency, such as low or high IQ, and perception of verbal tasks as unpleasant. Gagne (1977) reviews research in which delinquents from court populations with high IQ's and those with low IQ's are studied on the dimension of school performance. Delinquent youth with low IQ's fit into the theoretical framework of researchers such as Gold and Csikszentmihalyi and Larson. Their academic failure would lead to lowered self-esteem, lowered motivation, and vulnerability to delinquent behavior. High IQ delinquents are theorized to become frustrated with lack of opportunities (Tutt, 1974, Gagne, p. 16) or lack of challenge which leads to negative responses to those school activities in which they find frustration.

In the area of language disabilities and poor reading, Gagne presents the hypothesis that a delinquent views verbal tasks as unpleasant, based on experiences with poor communication at home. School tasks emphasize verbal abilities; for example, Kolers (1972, in Gagne, 1977) suggests that the reading process is active, and a reader forms hypotheses of messages anticipated from skilled sampling of the printed page. School is a context for studying and developing intraverbal skills (Bruner, 1971), thus a youth with this learning problem would appreciate few classroom activities. Troubled youth finding verbal communication unpleasant and who are habitually anticipating punishment or unpleasant associations may need to undergo some socialization activities so as to learn--through verbal reinforcers--that the consequences of verbal tasks can be rewarding.

b. Learning Decision-making.

(1) Cognitive Dissonance. Rutherford (1976) theorizes that delinquent and predelinquent youth make life decisions with bad consequences or fail to make any decisions at all because they: (1) lack specific data about self and settings, and (2) lack decision-making skills.

This assumption is based on Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance. The theory explains a person's avoidance of situations and information which represent unpleasant or difficult expectations. The inappropriate behavior of delinquent youth is grounded in the uncertainty of handling these expectations. The youth making a decision about these expectations responds with either "too much or too little" behavior.

Thus, youth who are delinquent might be avoiding school, where they are unsuccessful, and home, where there is disagreement and conflict about their behavior or about issues which they cannot resolve. The academic and social behavior of delinquents is therefore related to poor decision-making skills.

A strategy of intervention to improve decision-making is a program which would involve students in the practice of making decisions. The objective of such a program would be to teach the adolescent how to choose from among alternative value systems, from among the messages received and processed: to analyze the problem, the environment, and make a decision. Rutherford suggests setting up modeling and behavior contracts to shape these new skills. He argues against the school's taking over the decision-making power of students.

(2) Operant Conditioning. Learning theory, or theory of operant conditioning, applied to distruptive behavior in school would look less for the reasons--in individual characteristics--than at the desired products. Stumphauzer, Rutherford, Cohen and Filipczak, proponents of this theoretical position, propose that people learn behavior by positive reinforcement of appropriate behavior. Disruptive youth are therefore considered individuals who have not been placed in an environment which consistently reinforces appropriate behavior and ignores inappropriate behavior. Strategies--a technology-- should be developed to reinforce those skills or habits which are desired outcomes. The youth who are troubled would then participate in specially designed learning contexts to develop and display learned correct behavior. This theory has been applied to many intervention efforts with delinquents in residential settings, in schools, in alternative programs, and in in-school alternatives to suspension. While the theory claims that specific behaviors will be changed with the use of the appropriate technology, it does not claim to prevent delinquency.

Learning theory has also been applied to changing interaction in the family, under the hypothesis that if parents apply behavior modification techniques at home and the school encourages the teacher to apply them in the classroom, the consistency of reinforcement will enhance the success of changing behavior and its broad transfer. The enlistment of cooperation of the parents in changing individual behavior has been treated in Johnson et al. (1979) and in Quay (1978).

Thomas Johnson (1978) rejects theories about personality defects and socialization failures of social institutions, claiming delinquency is not an attribute of a particular group or person, but a property of human nature (p. 173). He examines delinquency as a signal that the family support system is dysfunctioning, and suggests that therapy with the family will establish both boundaries of behavior and correct interaction patterns.

B. Educational Applications of the Individual Behavior Perspective

1. General. Interventions based on the theory that individual behavior change is related to a decrease in delinquent behavior have taken the form of various educational strategies. They have applied educational and psychological theory about learning to changing behavior in learning settings. The strategies include:

- Application of principles of behavior management to learning problems: academic and social
- Application of instructional techniques to remediation of learning disabilities; diagnosis and prescription of individualized learning plans
- Application of human relations theory to changes in classroom climate, and in interpersonal relations between teacher and student to enhance self-image
- Teacher training to develop skills and competencies related to behavior management of disruptive students within and outside of the regular classroom.

2. Applications of Behavior Management.

a. Institution-Based. Jerome Stumphauzer (1976) reviewed the history of applying psychological principles of learning to change in delinquent behavior. This practice began as one-case demonstrations of behavior change and developed into subject-experimenter psychotherapy in the early 1960's, when students at Harvard University took the therapy into community settings for application. The systematic application of behavior management techniques appeared first at the National Training School in Washington, D.C., then at the JFK Youth Center in West Virginia, and at Achievement Place in Kansas, where populations have been "captive" learners.

The Contingencies Application to Special Education (CASE) project, begun at the National Training School by Cohen and Filipczak, operated on the principle of incentives: earned points for privileges. Youth advanced through a curriculum with individualized materials or through classroom instruction. CASE was directed at the increase in academic growth of delinquents, with the accompanying theoretical assumption that recidivism in the institution would decrease. The CASE project in West Virginia (JFK Center) closed down in the early 1970's due to criticism from authorities of the use of aversive conditioning techniques in other institutions using behavior management in educational programs.

b. Community-Based. An application of a token economy to modification of academic and social behavior problems was made in a community-based, family-style, group home called Achievement Place. The population consisted of adjudicated youth placed by the juvenile court. The youth earned and lost points used to purchase privileges. Displaying good behavior over a period of several weeks permitted some to become candidates for a homeward bound system. The program was directed at changes in verbal behavior, punctuality, and academic performance, among other individual characteristics.

The Center for Youth Development and Achievement (CYDA) in Tucson, Arizona, was modeled after Achievement Place; however, it served a primarily Indian population. Community-based--youth lived in a home with teaching parents--CYDA operated with the principles of a token economy, and emphasized development of reciprocal relationships, and the involvement of youth in decision-making.

Living in 12 homes located in middle or upper-middle class neighborhoods, with one center as a dorm for youth with severe problems, youth were cycled through five treatment levels, each with its own behavioral goals. Progression through the levels meant less surveillance and more privileges. CYDA attempted to increase the incidence of the following behaviors for all youth (Donaldson and Zellman, in Mann, 1976, p. 27):

- Accepting responsibility for the consequences of one's behavior

- Engaging in positive social interactions (especially in public schools)

- Learning vocational, academic, and self-sufficiency skills

- Using leisure time in nondeviant ways

- Enhancing self-identify as an Indian.

c. Conventional Settings. The application of behavioral management techniques in conventional learning settings has been treated by Nelson and Kauffman (1977). The authors suggest that the structure of secondary education--departmentalization, class switching, emphasis on academic achievement--limits program options. Some recent approaches to behavior change are reported, such as the Behavior Analyst model, Crisis Teacher, and Resource Room approaches.

The Behavior Analyst model of intervention involves consultants working with teachers and parents, called mediators. The population of students with whom these analysts come into contact include: behaviorally disordered, underachieving, pre-dropout, delinquent, and pre-delinquent youth. The analyst and the mediator work together to change specific problem behaviors of each student. Similarly trained in remedial education and behavior management, the Crisis Teacher is described as a resource to pupils and a mental health consultant to the school (Morse, 1971; Connor and Muldoon, 1967; in Nelson and Kauffman, 1977).

Efforts were tried by Heaton, Safer, Allen, Spinnato, and Prumo (1976) to determine if a "motivational environment" for behaviorally deviant junior high school students would lower their dropout rate. Students with multiple suspensions from school were grouped into one class with morning and afternoon special programs. Points were given for morning academic activities and paired with social reinforcers. Afternoon activities were chosen according to morning performance. Early dismissal or afternoon privileges could be purchased with accumulated points.

Parents were also involved in three-fifths of the cases of students in the special program, by being encouraged to use home-based reinforcers such as allowances, contingent upon progress in school. Cross and Kohl (1978) also report involvement of parents as consistent appliers of discipline using a point system similar to the one used in the classroom.

The use of Time Out as a technique to remove positive reinforcement from a student who is disruptive in class is described by Gast and Nelson (1977) as appropriate if the class is using contingency reinforcement as an overall strategy. A time out room or a setting which has been established in the classroom for that purpose is described as a way to simultaneously stop inappropriate behavior and shape appropriate behavior. The authors recommend that behaviors to be considered for time out should be identified to students before a system of contingencies is put into place. They also recommend that the teacher: give the student the opportunity to take his own time out, identify behaviors to students which would receive warnings, carefully guide the 1-5 minute period of time out, and examine the conditions reinforcing inappropriate behavior.

Programmed Interpersonal Curricula for Adolescents (PICA) is an example of a program which started out as a variation of a Resource Room and became institutionalized. Engineered by Cohen and Filipczak, this program in the Washington, D.C. area started with the assumption that scholastic problems are part of larger behavioral problems. A lack of knowledge of appropriate social behavior and attitudes was considered the precipitator of problem social behavior. Proposed treatment included individualized instruction and behavior management to learn the desired behavior. PICA included a parent program to instruct parents in the principles of behavior management and to permit PICA staff to observe interaction of students with their families in the home setting. This gave both staff and parents information about specific behavioral patterns requiring change.

The first students involved in PICA were considered participants in an out-of-school, half-day alternative training program. Students who had a history of behavior problems were nominated by school personnel. Once in the program, students interacted with staff for three periods a day, two periods in the academic skills center and one period in the interpersonal skills class. The principles of contingency management are the basis for the operation of the program: students are awarded points which are the mediating agent for acceptable behavior and chosen consequences. Both social reinforcement and extrinsic rewards are given. When inappropriate behavior is exhibited, the first strategy used by staff is ignoring it. If the behavior continued, the least desired consequences were applied, such as loss of free time or loss of opportunities to earn points.

Students in this program were responsible for keeping records of their performance and working with teachers to maintain this record. In the Academic Skills Center, students worked with self-instructional work units at areas designed for minimal distraction. In the Interpersonal Skills Program, students participated in six curricula developed by the staff: study skills, problem solving in interpersonal relations, teenagers' rights and responsibilities, drug abuse prevention, operant behavior techniques, and short story curriculum for analysis of conflict situations. For all of these curricula, the staff provided students with the information about appropriate behaviors expected, activities providing point earning opportunities, and possible rewards for completing objectives. Staff members monitored classes and recorded instances of appropriate and inappropriate behavior. This information was verified with the teacher at the end of the class sessions.

3. Applications of Instructional Techniques. The use of individualized instruction, team teaching, and behavioral contracts has been applied to delinquent youth both in training schools and in community-based group homes. These educational strategies are focused on remedial education, remediation of learning disabilities, and the development of social-coping skills.

Harriet Beck (1977), as a reading specialist at Boys Republic in California, developed her own theories and plans for the individualized instruction of reading to delinquents in custody. A rehabilitative center, Boys Republic applied a group-centered approach to behavior management and change. Boys worked in the kitchen or the barn and could also acquire school credit. Weekly evaluations were sent to the cottages where the boys lived. These were read by all and discussed in groups in order to recommend behavior change.

Beck divided her students into two groups. Those reading below the sixth grade level had as much as two periods of reading a day and received rewards for improvement. A thirty-day contract was developed by the teacher for each of her students. In the first period Beck concentrated on student mastery of reading skills: phonics, sight words, filmstrips, and newspapers. In the second period, the teacher permitted other areas of reading to be part of the curriculum. For the more advanced students the following activities were accomplished in a three-week period: book report, silent reading, language activity cards, magazines, map and globe skills, and spelling exercises.

Project New Pride (1977), a community-based program supported by the legal and business community of Denver, Colorado, treats adjudicated juveniles, with a mostly Black and Chicano population. An individualized schedule is planned for each client encompassing four components: academic education, counseling, employment, and cultural education. The treatment schedule consists of two time periods: a 3-month program participation, three hours a day; and a 9-month follow-up with daily or weekly contact with clients, depending on need.

New Pride emphasizes the relationship between juvenile delinquency and learning disabilities. In an assessment phase, students are tested for learning disabilities and then assigned either to an alternative school, for one-to-one tutoring and emphasis on reintegration to work and school, or to the Learning Disabilities Center. Counselors are involved not only with the clients but also with the families, helping clients to develop coping skills through the use of behavior modification and behavioral contracting.

Job preparation for clients of New Pride includes vocational counseling, skills in interviewing, and in filling out applications, and on-the-job training. Clients are not required to obtain employment, although those wishing to work are placed in a part-time afternoon job. After the working period is over, clients are encouraged to find jobs on their own; however, this is not a condition of the follow-up treatment period. Cultural education is also offered at New Pride. This consists of visits to television stations and museums, an Outward Bound weekend, attendance at professional sporting events, restaurant dinners, and other experiences used as a point of educational and cultural development.

During the assessment period of treatment, individual objectives are established for the academic component of the project. Lesson plans are written to help the client meet these objectives, and a point system is used for reward of academic credit on the dimensions of attendance, promptness, attitude, and completion of lesson. Students not receiving credit for their academic work are offered remedial classes and tutoring during the follow-up period. The Learning Disabilities Center operates with the same principles as the alternative school. Interest level and ability are taken into consideration for planning a program for each client. Therapeutic exercises prescribed for treatment are also part of the curriculum.

Using similar assessment and individualized treatment principles is the Providence Educational Center in Rhode Island, a Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) exemplary program for serious offenders in a community setting. Diagnostic testing performed during a client's first month of participation helps the staff plan "Individualized Treatment Plans." A student then proceeds either to an academic program or to a Student Work Assistance Program. Parental cooperation is required for admission. Contacts with families are continued throughout the client's program participation. Small group instruction and team teaching further supports individualized treatment.

4. Application of Human Relations Theory. Alternative school programs, some residential programs, and wilderness experiences address the issue of change in such individual characteristics as self-esteem and responsibility to others through efforts to change the quality of relationships between clients and between clients and staff. The mechanism for change in residential and alternative settings is frequently the peer group. Youth are placed in living arrangements according to certain criteria such as age and nature of offense.

Researchers have studied the negative effects of peer interaction, that is, when it creates an environment in which delinquent behavior becomes acceptable. Matza explains how the sense of powerlessness added to "techniques of neutralization" exhibited by members of delinquent groups can support delinquent behavior at certain times in the group's history (Matza, 1964, as cited in Johnson et al., 1979). Weakened conventional attachments, commitment to peers, and prior association with other delinquents are conditions which contribute to youth participation in delinquent acts with a delinquent group of youth according to Hirschi (1969) and Elliot and Voss (1974) as cited in Johnson et al. (1979).

One treatment modality, Positive Peer Culture (PPC), is used at Michigan's Starr Commonwealth facility for delinquent and behaviorally disordered youth. It applies the theory that peer groups can establish an environment for positive behavior. PPC trains youth to assume responsibility for their own problems with the support of their group. Youth identify their behaviors according to the problem of which they are symptoms, such as "low self-image," "authority problem," or "fronting." When a youth behaves inappropriately, his group talks with him about his problem. Adult counselors are trained to facilitate the groups, but not to interfere in the group process. This therapeutic environment is carried over into the classroom, where teachers call for group meetings if youth behavior cannot be controlled by a reminder that a particular action is inappropriate. The groups try to demonstrate that caring for and trusting the group members requires a kind of strength which is more mature than looking out for oneself.

Elan, a controversial residential program in Maine, takes youth who would ordinarily be placed in correctional facilities and puts them into a therapeutic community in which the group counsels individuals through confrontation methods. Participants must make a commitment to the community, whose rules include no sex, drugs, or violence. A hierarchy of participants exists based on work assignments and experience in the community. Records are kept of negative behavior, and peers determine and deliver discipline in the form of verbal reprimands. Educational opportunities are provided by a Montessori-oriented school. The central thrust of the program is to change out-of-control, character-disordered youth, to responsible participants in society.

Wilderness schools, such as the New Dominion school and camp in Virginia, emphasize responsibility to community and respect for interpersonal relationships. Through work assignments and a series of behavioral objectives, clients become "citizens" worthy of certain privileges. The alteration of certain character features is required before privileges including educational experiences are awarded. The process of change through interaction with peers is intended to lead to the development of pride, respect for others and respect for the laws of a community.

A different approach to allow enhancement of self-esteem is advocated by alternative school enthusiasts, who stress features of warm interpersonal relationships between students and teachers, ungraded classrooms, self evaluations, and freedom to choose time and effort given to learning activities. Gold reports that these features of educational programs are found in alternative programs for emotionally disturbed children--the Woodward Day School, in alternative high schools--Group High and Ethnic High, and in junior high alternative educational settings. Examples of such environments are Delta High School in California (Platt, 1977) where the emphasis is on enhancement of self-image through responsibility for learning and decision-making. In such a program there is no failing grade, students participate according to their own rate and level. Given high priority is the learning and use of interpersonal and communication skills. Emphasis on self-confidence, self-respect, changing relationships between teacher and student from one of inequality to one of friendship and cooperation, and maximizing success experiences are all indicated as setting a climate for learning in which self-esteem is not threatened.

A residential alternative program for adolescents with learning difficulties is described by Cook (1979). Held at Goddard College (Vermont) in the summer, it provides opportunities for youth to gain competence in important adjustment areas, such as separation from home and interaction with peers. Youth live in dorms, are working members of the community, and develop interests and talents as well as participating in instructional contexts. Pre-vocational classes are available for those considering working, and counseling and "social tutorials" are available for students with difficulties in the area of social perception. Information is provided in rap groups about personal care and sexuality. A therapeutic educational environment is established for the enhancement of each student's self-image.

5. Application of Pre- and In-Service Teacher Training. Programs using educational strategies or components have been described as intervention efforts to change individual problem behaviors. Besides focusing on the individual there are other points of intervention; specifically, training the teacher in special skills for response to troubled behavior and preparing the school to respond to the student who would otherwise be suspended from school.

a. Conventional Learning Settings. The conventional classroom teacher responsible for a particular content area is in a dilemma concerning how to teach disruptive students and how to teach the rest of the class when some students are disruptive. In reviewing programs directed toward the disruptive student in the classroom, it seems clear that practitioners and researchers are concerned with training teachers to analyze student behavior to determine its basis and then to meet this behavior with appropriate management techniques.

Cross and Kohl (1978) explain that delinquents are heterogeneous, as Quay has asserted, in the interrelated behaviors which make up behavior disorder. They recommend that teachers determine the basis of a particular disruptive behavior: immaturity, antisocial aggressiveness, neurotic conflict, or identification with a deviant subculture.

Kounin (1970, in Duke and Duke, 1978) discovered that an unintended effect of a teacher's scolding of a misbehaving child is the creation of a disturbance by students surrounding that child. This is called the Ripple Effect. He found four dimensions of teacher behavior associated with good discipline in the classroom:

- Knowing what's going on at all times
- Smoothness in transition from activity to activity
- Keeping all children on a task or activity
- Being able to generate challenge and interest.

Wilde and Sommers (1978) suggest these approaches to preventing disruptions in class:

- Furnish students with a rationale for subject matter being presented
- Build a positive classroom structure by informing students of goals and objectives for them as individuals
- Structure classroom so students know they will be choosing some of their own goals

- Give students some options in class discipline, some input into the rule formation.

The L.E.A.S.T Approach to Classroom Discipline by Carkhuff and Griffin (1978) is used by the Fairfax (Virginia) Education Association in workshops with teachers. This approach presents examples of disturbances in class and analyzes responses to the disturbances in the order of complexity:

L	Leave things alone
E	End the action indirectly
A	Attend more fully
S	Spell out directions
T	Track student progress.

The authors emphasize that this is a means of holding or controlling behavior until a student with behavioral problems of a clinical nature can be referred to the appropriate personnel.

Both pre- and in-service programs have emphasized the development of competency-based curriculum and techniques for students with behavioral and/or emotional disorders. Shores, Cegelka, and Nelson (1973) examined literature on competency-based teacher education program components and talked with professors in special education training programs. They recommend a process of validation of competencies identified as significant to student classroom success. The process involves writing statements of competencies, direct observation of these competencies by successful teachers, and measurement of the effect of demonstrating these competencies on the success of students by teachers being trained in the development of these competencies. This recommendation is made to teacher training programs and those which develop and deliver in-service field-based courses to teachers.

b. Correctional Settings. Special training for teachers who expect to work in correctional or alternative learning environments involves a course which makes field experiences possible and required. Such a course of studies is offered at Western Illinois University. Serving three states--Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa--this program recognizes the need for instructors to deal with the problems found to be common in public schools' alienated youth:

- Social alienation
- Cultural diversity
- Lack of reading skills
- Social maladjustments
- Learning disabilities.

The goals of this degree program cover the areas of: individualization of instruction, knowledge of social deviance, personal relations skills, knowledge of the court system, special education testing, and multicultural education problems. The curriculum draws its content from the disciplines of law enforcement, sociology, psychology, social foundations of education, reading, special education, and elementary education.

The field experience for freshmen and sophomores involves spending one day a week visiting 15 agencies, institutions or programs within a 75 mile radius. Juniors are assigned to correctional or alternative schools for half-days each week totaling 100 hours per quarter. Seniors are required to serve an apprenticeship in a correctional or alternative educational setting.

6. School Responses. The response of the school to troubled youth, that is, the organizational response to changing behavior, is influenced by the legal, economic, and social implications of the response. Traditionally, suspension and corporal punishment have been used for certain types of disruptive individual behavior such as attendance, legal, and fighting violations as well as discretionary offenses such as smoking and inappropriate verbal behavior (1975 Project for the Fair Administration of Student Discipline, in NIE, 1978). Schools have been re-examining their alternatives to suspension since the court ruling in Goss vs. Lopez, which declared that children have the right to a public education, such that

if they are deprived for 10 days or less of schooling they have a right to minimum procedures of due process. Research on suspensions and their effect on students has shown that they:

- Prevent students from doing academic work
- Remove but do not diagnose or remedy the behavior problems
- Stigmatize the student in school and through the use of his record
- Correlate highly with juvenile delinquency (Nations Schools and Colleges, 1975).

In addition, suspensions:

- Have long term consequences for students in terms of future employment, development of a sense of justice, and feelings of rejection
- Require adjustment of teacher for re-entry
- Cause loss of state funds for school
- Create resentment of parents and community
- Represent an increased cost to society in terms of future job training or public assistance because job skills are not developed, and may lead to a possible increase in juvenile delinquency and crime (J. Williams, 1978).

Alternatives to suspension include detention centers in which students are isolated from school and do not use instructional time; in-school study centers; in-school suspension centers with counseling and supervised study, counseling programs and behavioral control programs; and separate alternative programs. Another, Positive Alternatives to Student Suspension (PASS), for example, operates in Florida as a school survival course. This course is 12 weeks long--1 hour a week--and incorporates transactional analysis, reality therapy, values clarification, and behavior modification in order to prevent or minimize nonproductive acts from secondary school students. Courses for parents and teachers have been similarly designed.

Critical issues and questions recommended for schools by Williams, a participant in an NIE-sponsored conference on in-school alternatives to suspension, are:

- What purposes does the alternative serve?
- How will the effectiveness of the alternative be assessed?
- Does the alternative permit and support the student in maintaining academic progress substantially equivalent to the regular school program?
- How will it address behavior problems?
- What legal issues arise in the operation of an in-school alternative? (p. 12-16, 1978)

Daniel Duke (1977) recommends junior and senior high schools adopt a systematic plan for the management of school discipline. This plan has six components:

- Collecting accurate data on discipline problems
- Developing an awareness of school as an institution operated according to rules
- Rewarding students who obey rules
- Establishing a repetoire of sound methods to resolve conflicts

- Using a team approach to handle behavior problems

- Providing inservice education on school discipline.

In all of these components, Duke recommends that the school as an organization enlist the cooperation of students, parents and the community in the decision-making process.

C. Research on Intervention Strategies

1. Programs Using Behavior Management Principles. Research on programs using behavioral management principles (Gagne, 1977; Romig, 1978; Nelson and Kauffman, 1977; and Phillips, 1973) report good results in remediating educational problems of troubled youth in them, but less success in lowering recidivism rates (Jeffrey and Jeffrey, 1970; in Gagne, 1977). Phillips et al. (1971) reported significant and reliable improvements in each behavior--promptness at meal times, room cleaning, saving money, and accuracy of answers on a news quiz--using point consequences at Achievement Place. Gagne reviewed research which indicated that contingency management helped boys at Achievement Place develop an internal locus of control and improved self-esteem, resulted in decreased aggressive verbal behaviors, improved classroom behavior, and lowered the school dropout rate when compared to similar characteristics of youth at Kansas Boys' School (Gagne, p. 20, 1977). Also reported by Gagne is a study by Eitzen (1975) which found that only 22% of Achievement Place boys were reinstitutionalized within two years after release, compared to 47% of youth from the Kansas Boys' School. At the same time, "there were no differences in the mean number of police contacts per year for the two groups." Gagne interprets the results to indicate a possible preferential treatment was given by the police to more promising delinquents, that is, those who had been at Achievement Place for rehabilitative treatment.

Nelson and Kauffman report that an extrinsic point system, such as the one used at Achievement Place and in such educational programs as PICA,

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can be eliminated effectively to ease the transition from a structured modification environment to one that is less structured in levels or objectives (Bailey, Wolf, and Phillips, 1970, in Nelson and Kauffman, 1977). This would seem to indicate that behaviors had been internalized and that transfer of new behaviors to other settings would be possible. However, Romig (1978), in a review of evaluations of 14 behavior modification projects involving approximately 2,000 youth, reported that 10 of 14 found improvements of a narrow scope which then did not transfer outside the treatment setting (Johnson et al., 1979, p. 47). Romig's findings seem to concur with those of Gagne in her review:

> Behavior modification did work to change certain behaviors, such as school attendance, test scores, promptness, and classroom behavior. However, it did not affect something as global as delinquency or arrest rate. (Romig, 1978, p. 20, cited in Johnson et al., 1979, p. 47)

Concerning the use of verbal reinforcers, Phillips et al., (1973 in Gagne, p. 18) reported success in modification of delinquents when verbal communication accompanies reinforcers. These results have prompted other researchers to suggest that success in behavioral contracting may be related to the communication process with the therapist rather than to the characteristics of the contract (Stuart and Lott, 1972, in Gagne, 1977).

Two evaluations of the CYDA in Tucson showed a lower rearrest rate and fewer youths reinstitutionalized than for Indian Youth treated in other programs during the first twelve months following release. However, in both studies there were methodological problems with control groups and lack of random assignment (Mann, 1976). In addition, tribal differences in norms and tolerance of deviant behavior were raised as an issue in outcomes after release.

The evaluation of twelve original students in the PICA program--before it was institutionalized by the schools--showed large gains in achievement, school grades, and attendance. Evaluation data showed that eight of the twelve students were staying in school after their participation in the PICA program and six of these were maintaining passing grades. Two formal juvenile charges had been placed against PICA students, compared with 17 the year prior to their participation in the program (Cohen and Filipczak, 1971, in Nelson and Kauffman, 1977).

Programs like New Pride and Providence Educational Center, which emphasize individualized instruction and treatment plans for education of their clients, both report reduced recidivism of their clients. Both also report a high percentage of clients in job and school placement: New Pride, 70% job placement and over 40% school return; and PEC, 62% favorable outcomes including return to school, participation in vocational preparation, and employment. In addition PEC, which stressed reduction of truancy, lowered its truancy rate from 55% to 16% and increased mathematics achievement scores as well as average reading levels (New Pride, 1977 and Mann, 1976).

The research is conflicting concerning the effectiveness of educational programs using instructional and behavior modification techniques to reduce delinquent or troubled behavior. Previous studies by Ahlstrom and Havighurst (1971), and Reckless and Dinitz (1972), indicated that adolescents identified as delinquent-prone were adjudicated at the same rate as students in regular educational programs, even when they enjoyed their classes, and had specially tailored curricula and highly skilled teachers with access to outside consultants (Gagne, 1977, p. 20).

However, some lessons resulting from these programs are instructive. Feldhusen (1978) found that although educational programs for disruptive youth reported good results using behavior modification techniques, special teacher training and outside assistance are required. Critics of behavior modification doubt the maintenance of new behavior outside of the special environment in which they are established. PICA evaluators seem to support this when they reported that the environments to which their students returned after their participation in PICA did not support the gains made in the program. To counteract this effect, CYDA attempted to build relationships with parents, peers, and community in order to increase the similarity of stimuli between the program and the outside world. Some parole officers, however, did not believe home environments would support the new behaviors established through the program and therefore would not endorse the release of some clients.

2. Programs Which Focus on Altering Personality Traits and Physiological Problems. As reported at the beginning of this theoretical perspective, research has failed to show valid generalizations associating biological factors and delinquency. Duke and Duke (1978) reviewed research on the prediction of delinquency in girls based on personality and biological characteristics. They discovered that internal factors such as intelligence and school achievement were "unreliable predictors of delinquency" (Duke and Duke, 1978, p. 27). Similarly, mental health, peer relations, most physiological factors, and external factors such as socioeconomic class, race, and residence location were not shown to be causes of delinquency in girls, or evidence was unclear about the implications of relationships, such as a prevalance of fist fights among rural girls as opposed to urban girls (Gold and Reimer, 1972, in Duke and Duke, 1978).

Delinquency is itself too broad a phenomenon to be predicted by studying personal characteristics, the Dukes claim; however, studies still search for the associations between personality factors and achievement in school and behavior problems. Duke and Duke cite Gilbert (1972) as finding more predictors of nondelinquency than delinquency. They suggest that educators attend to dimensions of successful human behavior. It may be that most youth have been delinquent at some time in their lives but do not get caught and therefore are not adjudicated (Gold, 1970).

Romig (1978) studied the evaluation of 78 projects focusing on individual characteristics employing strategies of casework, individual psychotherapy, group counseling, wilderness programs, special education programs and behavior modification programs. In nine projects using casework to reduce delinquent behavior, only two reduced truancy or disciplinary problems in school. The other nine did not show significant differences between treatment and control groups in offenses or in other outcome measures.

In ten individual psychotherapy programs, seven showed no significant outcomes for treatment and control subjects. In one project, controls did slightly better on academic performance; in another, treated subjects had better school performance, attendance, and fewer probation referrals, but did not reduce their contact with police.

Romig reviewed 28 group counseling programs, many for youth already institutionalized, and found 79 percent showed no significant differences in behavior or had negative results. In three wilderness program evaluations, Romig found that, where reduced recidivism may have resulted within a short time of completion of the program, the attitudes and skills acquired needed explicit follow-up to facilitate a transfer to conventional settings (Johnson et al., 1979, p. 46).

3. Approaches to Educating Troubled Youth by Focusing on Learning Disabilities. Projects like New Pride treat client learning disabilities and claim a relationship between the reduced recidivism and improved academic performance through their remediation. However, there is evidence to suggest that there is no link to be made between learning disabilities and delinquent behavior.

Murray (1976) reviewed studies reporting high incidences of learning disabilities among delinquents--from 22 to 90%--but he and his research team concluded that no study they reviewed could claim to demonstrate that an average delinquent is more likely to suffer from a learning disability than a nondelinquent counterpart (Johnson et al., p. 40). The evidence of the studies did not indicate a causal link between delinquency and learning disabilities, thus it was recommended that no more program applications based on the assumption that this link exists be supported (Murray, 1976, pp. 65-72).

When further research was done on determining the prevalence of learning disabilities among adjudicated delinquent males and the prevalence of delinquent behavior among learning-disabled youth, the findings seemed to support the high percentage of learning disabilities found by previous research among adjudicated youth as opposed to nonadjudicated youth. Investigating the prevalence of delinquent behavior among learning disabled youth, the researchers in a two-year project applied uniform criteria to identify youth with learning disabilities (Zimmerman et al., 1978). Analysis of self-reported delinquency questionnaires found no significant differences between learning disabled youth, in delinquent behavior or in police contacts (Johnson et al., p. 41, 1979).

As in the research on programs using instructional techniques and behavior modification techniques, individual projects have successful results to report. However, methodological and statistical problems exist in many of these evaluations. That, accompanied by the evidence that overall efforts focused on individual characteristics do not seem to alter delinquent behavior, raises the question of the fruitfulness of endorsing similar efforts based on this theoretical perspective.

D. Summary

This theoretical perspective addresses the problems in the education of troubled youth by looking at relationships between individual characteristics and troubled behavior, and then indicating strategies to remediate behavior based on theories of human development and learning. Troubled behavior is defined by identifying the problem within the individual exhibiting it. Certain characteristics of individuals are targets for change: academic achievement, reading performance, verbal behavior, social behavior (i.e., getting along with others, respecting adults, respecting oneself), and certain physiological problems amenable to remediation, such as learning disabilities. School is regarded as an appropriate context for changing behavior because it can provide the social interactional environment, the tools (teacher, instructional contexts, materials), and the access to parents who can be trained to assist in the process of behavior change.

1. Programs. Efforts supported by this perspective include action at the level of the classroom teacher, the school system, and parent and community involvement. These efforts occur in settings as diverse as those in which

troubled youth are educated: in alternative programs within a school and independent of schools, in correctional settings, and in community-based programs. Teachers are trained in identifying the origin and related characteristics of behavior problems and then in responding with particular strategies. Parents are trained in using consistent methods of discipline, behavioral contracting, and improved intrafamilial communications, facilitated by home visits from counselors to observe interaction patterns. The development of in-house alternatives to suspension which include provisions for academic work is viewed as a response by the school, as a system, to disruptive behavior.

Features of intervention programs supported by this perspective as influencing successful outcomes include:

- The use of behavior modification techniques for academic and social behavior change
- The development of individualized diagnostic and prescriptive treatment plans for each learner
- The use of instructional machines to reduce distraction in the learning environment and support self-paced learning
- Humanistic principles applied to the learning process and to the interpersonal relations between teacher and student.

2. Research on Programs. The research results on such interventions point out some problems in estimating their long-term success. The first problem is that there are indications that delinquent behavior is too broad a phenomenon to be predicted by specific individual characteristics. Then, programs which try to connect individual characteristics to the reduction of delinquent behavior operationalized as recidivism, do not always consider the interventions which are made informally, such as police response to a certain group of troubled youth. Finally, using alternative instructional technologies to change academic and social behavior does have an

impact on students when they are in that particular setting. However, these changes may not be sustained once the youth has returned to a conventional setting (Johnson et al., 1979).

Disagreement over the definition of troubled behavior, the classification of the youth who engages in it (i.e., socially maladjusted, emotionally maladjusted, learning disabled), and the features of an educational program which will succeed in enhancing learning results while reducing troubled behavior, make it difficult to provide effective educational experiences (Nelson and Kauffman, 1977).

3. Emerging Issues. These issues emerge from the review of this perspective:

- Determination of the focus of the educational program: on the whole youth or on one aspect of behavior
- Segregation of students with behavior problems from the rest of the class or school, or integration with the assistance of behavioral counselors
- Training teachers to focus on successful human behavior instead of identifying disruptive behavior
- Strategies developed for involvement of parents in behavior change efforts: involvement of school personnel in home visits to work on interaction in the family
- Developing effective follow-through procedures to support the transfer of new behaviors from one learning context to another
- Determination of teacher's accountability for behavior change in programs which focus on the link between specific characteristics and a reduction in delinquent behavior

- Definitions which are shared concerning the nature of troubled behavior

- Determination of the definition of behavior change in correctional settings: in terms of the social setting of the correctional facility or in terms of future learning settings.

IV. SECONDARY SCHOOL REFORM: PROBLEMS INHERENT IN CHANGE

A. Why Focus on the School?

The review of literature and applications on secondary reform for troubled youth introduced two perspectives on change. One perspective examines the interaction between the individual and social institutions, analyzing the structural/functional characteristics related to troubled behavior. This perspective proposes structural and functional changes to remediate the problems. The second perspective regards individual characteristics related to troubled behavior, proposing skill, content and structural changes to inhibit troubled behavior. For both these perspectives, self-contained programs--those independent of established institutions--and changes affecting school climate--focusing on discipline policies, educational services, instructional procedures, student participation in governance, and opportunities for youth involvement in community and work--have been advocated.

From the analysis of literature on troubled youth, it seems clear that school is regarded as a crucial point of intervention because of its relationship to and interaction with other social institutions. It seems appropriate, therefore, to treat the problems inherent in advocating and making change in the school.

The school is the conventional institution through which opportunities to develop attachment and conventional identities exist. Due to age restrictions and the lack of availability of jobs for youth, there is less opportunity to form attachments within the work community. It is also difficult for youth to become equal participants in residential community activities. Some communities do not consider adolescents responsible enough to make a contribution. In many others, though, associations like Junior Achievement encourage youth to make contributions to the work and residential communities in which they live. However, organizations like this reach youth who are in school, because they function through their ties with the school system. Programs which serve out-of-school youth may assist them in finding a job, but frequently encourage or require youth to return to high school or to enter an educational program to obtain high school-equivalent credit. Thus it seems that society values school--at least a high school diploma--as the prerequisite for adult status.

B. The School as a System

Some theorists look at the school as a system with particular characteristics (Sarason, 1971; Katz, and Kahn, 1966; Johnson et al., 1979; Barker and Gump, 1964). These characteristics are:

- A function
- Inputs and outputs
- Personnel who have assigned roles
- Rules and procedures based on expectations
- Sequence or regularities of behaviors and programs
- A membership in a larger system.

The theorists have discussed the function of school as being related to socialization of youth to adult roles and to the development of socially acceptable behaviors. The resources--human, financial, and technical--are considered the inputs as are the students. In this "factory" model, the graduates are the outputs, as well as the dropouts. Within the school each member of the system has an assigned role which carries with it expectations for behavior: teacher, counselor, aide, intern, principal, secretary, janitor, student, cafeteria worker. The expectations of each other's behavior vis-a-vis the students and the educational process become codified as rules and procedures. These stated and unstated rules affect the content of interaction and the content of classroom lessons, such that certain programs and behaviors occur with regularity. Finally, the school is one member of the school system, which includes other schools for different ages, abilities, and needs of students. As a member of this system, the school is responsible for its performance, considering all the same characteristics.

Barker and Gump (1964) theorize that it is through an understanding of these characteristics that educators can understand the relationship between individual behaviors and the school as a social institution. Examining the relationship between size of school, attraction and pressure to participate in voluntary activities, and feelings of responsibility, Barker and Gump found that in large schools there was less attraction, pressure, and responsibility felt by marginally academic students toward participation in voluntary activities. Thus researchers studying the ecology of the school--size is one of the ecological characteristics--found similar results to those of Polk, Ogbu, Rist, Duke, and Thomas, Kreps and Cage. These researchers studied practices and procedures which would affect participation of marginally academic students in school activities and leave them vulnerable to troubled behavior. All are concerned with the characteristics of the setting which help one to understand the behavior of the individuals in that setting.

C. The Nature of Change in the School

Change, here called secondary school reform for the prevention/intervention/treatment of troubled behavior, may involve self-contained programs within schools or school systems or the alteration of practices and policies, such as tracking, or discipline procedures. Whatever the focus and content of the change, what is being changed is the characteristics of a system, the regularities which contribute to its functioning.

The difficulties in conducting a change initiative involve the tendency of organizations to continue as they are and consideration of the interrelationship between what is being changed and other policies and personnel (Johnson et al., 1979). For example, the policy of tracking has a history of political, economic, and cultural influences. When demanding the elimination of a tracking system, one must consider how these other influences will be affected. In the review of literature on the interaction between the individual and the social institutions we have seen that the areas identified as needing change require accompanying adjustments in expectations of society and especially in its economic policies and prejudices.

Johnson et al., in their review of implications of delinquency prevention theory on educational reform, suggest that the self-contained treatment program is the model through which those change initiators will have most control but will affect fewer youth and personnel, as compared with programs involving the change of widespread and influential system policies, such as tracking.

Some important considerations for those change initiators are presented by Sarason (1971) who admonishes that if one does not consider the behavioral and programmatic regularities through which the school functions as a system, the more things change, the more they will stay the same. Sarason poses the following questions in discussing change initiation in the school:

- Who is the change agent?
- What kind of depth and knowledge must the agent of change have about target groups in the setting for change?
- What is the scope of the change?
- Is the time perspective of the change initiative considered a problem?
- What is the intended outcome?

1. Who is the Change Agent? What Kind of Knowledge Must the Agent Have About the Target Groups in the Setting? These issues refer to the membership of the change agent. Is this a person who is now or has recently been a member of the school faculty? Is the agent a University researcher who has never been a participant in the school or the school system? This issue of membership affects the acceptance of the agent by the members of the school. It also affects the way the change agent regards the characteristics of the school. Whether the agent has been a member of the school which is the target of the initiative, a member of a similar school in another system, or an outsider, it is important for the agent to be knowledgeable about the characteristics which make the school unique. Knowledge of the expectations of behavior within the system, the

roles of personnel and students, and the goals and function of the programs will help the agent identify what will be affected by the change initiative.

2. What is the Scope of the Change? In initiating change, the scope must be considered. Is the change initiative focused on the school, or the entire school district? Who will benefit from the resources applied to the change initiative? What will happen to the initiative if it is only completed in one site?

3. Is the Time Perspective of the Initiative Considered a Problem? Related to the issue of scope of change is the issue of the time period in which the change is to be made. Is the time period reasonable for the scope of change? If a systemwide change effort is planned, time must be allotted for informing all personnel involved and involving personnel in the planning, implementation, and dissemination of the results of the change initiative. Certainly a time perspective for eliminating a tracking system would be realistically lengthy; whereas, the time perspective for a codification and publication of the rules for conduct in a school would be considerably shorter.

4. What is the Intended Outcome? Both Sarason and Haberman (1975) treat the issues involved in determining the outcomes of change initiatives. The chief concern of both researchers is that changing content and changing structure are often confused by change agents. This leads to the change agents belief that the effort has been successful, and the personnel in the setting to believe that it was not fruitful.

Haberman also discusses the problems in assessing and identifying outcomes when the change efforts are derived from the professional level rather than from the public level. The conflict between what is felt to be needed by personnel in the school and what is felt to be needed according to current research in the field is an ongoing one. Change efforts which try to assess these needs with the help of the personnel in the school, try to involve the personnel as on-site change agents, and try to establish collaborative mechanisms for the change initiative address these issues.

In general, introducing change assumes that change according to a set of outcomes is desirable and that the outcomes are clear. Any efforts at secondary school reform must take these issues into consideration when deciding the nature of the change, the scope of the change, the personnel and characteristics of the system involved in the change initiative.

V. SUMMARY

This statement of the problem has presented two theoretical perspectives on the origin of troubled behavior in youth and secondary school reform as a response to that behavior. Findings show that theoreticians and practitioners consider education as both a source and a solution of the problem for troubled youth.

The first perspective identifies sociological phenomena which are the result of an individual's interaction with social institutions as the location of factors contributing to troubled behavior. It prescribes changes in the social institutions of education, work, and justice to alleviate these phenomena. Programs have been attempted which present alternatives in the form of educational programs, alternatives in youth employment, and alternatives in the disposition of youth cases by the justice system. Research results indicate that these programs have many positive characteristics, but that these characteristics have not been included in institutionalization efforts in the social institutions which are the target of the prevention/intervention/treatment efforts.

The second perspective identifies individual characteristics leading to behaviors in school and in social interaction which have been labeled in these settings as troubled. It prescribes action at different levels for prevention/intervention/treatment: the student, the social and physical structure of the school, the teacher, and the parents. Research on such programs presents conflicting data about successes in changing first individual behavior and then delinquency or troubled behavior. There has been a lack of success in maintaining the behavior change once an individual has transferred from a treatment setting to a conventional setting. Further, there is a lack of knowledge about the long term effects of the behavior change on the individual's life.

It seems clear that additional research is required to answer questions raised by this review. We need to know more about the long-term effects of programs focusing on individual social and academic behavior change in educational settings. We need to know more about institutionalization of changes in the social institutions through which troubled youth experience inequities. Since it seems obvious that a combination of factors are responsible for troubled behavior in youth, it follows that a combination of efforts from all the social institutions and agencies responding to troubled youth would be most effective in the long run. We need to know if it is possible to combine efforts at the Federal level, and then at the local levels, of alternative and conventional educational, work, and law enforcement systems to assist in reform of the learning settings which are both origins of troubled behavior and responses to that behavior. The answers to these questions will help in the design and implementation of programs which have a positive effect on the lives of both the individuals who work in them and for whom they are created.

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